

P. W. Edsall

*The*  
AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL  
REVIEW

*A Quarterly*

*Vol. LVII, No. 1*

*October, 1951*

---

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

BOX 2-W, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA • 60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

LONDON: MACMILLAN CO., LIMITED

\* \* \* \* *Board of Editors* \* \* \* \*

GRAY C. BOYCE  
JAMES B. HEDGES

CARL BRIDENBAUGH  
ROBERT J. KERNER

F. C. DIETZ  
J. A. O. LARSEN

*Managing Editor*  
GUY STANTON FORD

*Assistant Editor*  
CATHARINE SEYBOLD

## *Reviews of Books*

### *General History*

<i>Brinton</i> , IDEAS AND MEN, by John Herman Randall, Jr. . . . .	91
<i>Hughes</i> , AN ESSAY FOR OUR TIMES, by Carlton J. H. Hayes . . . . .	94
<i>Gottschalk</i> , UNDERSTANDING HISTORY, by David K. Bjork . . . . .	95
<i>Nej</i> , WAR AND HUMAN PROGRESS, by Herbert Marcuse . . . . .	97
<i>Dehio</i> , GLEICHGEWICHT ODER HEGEMONIE, by R. A. Winnacker . . . . .	100
<i>Hurewitz</i> , THE STRUGGLE FOR PALESTINE, by Roderic H. Davison . . . . .	101

### *Ancient and Medieval History*

<i>Scharff and Moortgat</i> , ÄGYPTEN UND VORDERASIEN IM ALTERTUM, by Thomas A. Brady . . . . .	103
<i>Latouche</i> , TEXTES D'HISTOIRE MÉDIÉVALE, V <sup>e</sup> -XI <sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE, by Oscar G. Darlington . . . . .	104
<i>Boüard</i> , MANUEL DE DIPLOMATIQUE, FRANÇAISE ET PONTIFICALE, by Oscar G. Darlington . . . . .	106
<i>Zöllner</i> , DIE POLITISCHE STELLUNG DER VÖLKER IM FRANKENREICH, by Gray C. Boyce . . . . .	108
<i>Folz</i> , LE SOUVENIR ET LA LÉGENDE DE CHARLEMAGNE DANS L'EMPIRE GERMANIQUE MÉDIÉVAL, by Ronald N. Walpole . . . . .	109
<i>Duckett</i> , ALCUIN, FRIEND OF CHARLEMAGNE, by Bertram Colgrave . . . . .	113
<i>Runciman</i> , A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES, I, by A. C. Krey . . . . .	115
<i>Tatlock</i> , THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF BRITAIN, by James Lea Cate . . . . .	117
<i>Mitchell</i> , TAXATION IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, by W. E. Lunt . . . . .	120

### *Modern European History*

<i>Feiling</i> , A HISTORY OF ENGLAND, by David Owen . . . . .	121
<i>Hughes</i> , THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, I, by Garrett Mattingly . . . . .	123
<i>Rowse</i> , THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH, by Louis B. Wright . . . . .	125
<i>Strathmann</i> , SIR WALTER RALEGH, by George L. Mosse . . . . .	126
<i>Wormald</i> , CLARENDON, by Caroline Robbins . . . . .	127
<i>Pargellis and Medley</i> , BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1714-89, by Edgar L. Erickson . . . . .	129
<i>Gillispie</i> , GENESIS AND GEOLOGY, by Charles F. Mullett . . . . .	130
<i>Carswell</i> , THE ROMANTIC ROGUE, by Guy Stanton Ford . . . . .	131

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

*The American Historical Association supplies THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW to all its members; annual dues are \$5.00; applications for membership should be sent to the Executive Secretary, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C. (For further information, see American Historical Association advertisement following last page of text.)*

*Subscriptions, without membership, may be sent to The Macmillan Company, Box 2-W, Richmond 5, Virginia, or 60 Fifth Avenue, New York 11. The price of subscription is \$5.00 a year; single numbers are sold, by The Macmillan Company, for \$1.50 (back numbers at the same rate).*

*Correspondence in regard to contributions to the Review, and books for review, should be sent to the Managing Editor, Guy Stanton Ford, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C.*

COPYRIGHT 1951, BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1932, at the Post-Office at Richmond, Va., under the act of March 3, 1879.

\* \* \* \* *Table of Contents* \* \* \* \*

Vol. LVII, No. 1

October, 1951

*Articles*

STILL ANOTHER RENAISSANCE?

*Robert Sabatino Lopez*

1

SOME DEMAGOGUES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

*Reinhard H. Luthin*

22

PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY AND CENTRAL EUROPE

*Paul R. Sweet*

47

*Notes and Suggestions*

A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF INTERSTATE RENDITION:  
THE BIG BEAVER CREEK MURDERS

*William R. Leslie*

63

GERMAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEASTERN  
EUROPE, 1870-1914

*Henry Cord Meyer*

77

*Reviews of Books*

(See inside cover pages)

91

*Other Recent Publications*

197

*Historical News*

285





IN HONOR OF  
**CHARLES AUSTIN  
BEARD**

ALFRED A. KNOFF, INC. announces the inauguration of the Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize. This prize, intended to honor a great American, comprising five hundred dollars in cash and a contract for volume publication on terms set forth in the entry blank, will be offered in even years for a work in Political Science and in odd years for a work in American History. Any citizen of the United States not over forty years of age at the time of the closing date for entries will be eligible.

MANUSCRIPTS must deal with those subjects, and in a suitable manner, likely to appeal to the educated and mature American lay reader rather than to the specialist. Doctoral dissertations or works of a purely scholarly nature with a necessarily limited appeal are not eligible and will not be considered by the publisher.

MANUSCRIPTS should be not shorter than 50,000 words nor longer than 150,000 words. Other things being equal, works of approximately 100,000 words in length will be favored.

MANUSCRIPTS must be submitted in clear typescript form complying in all respects with instructions set forth in the pamphlet which will be supplied candidates on application to the publisher who will also send a formal entry blank on request. Manuscripts must be in the publisher's hands complete and ready for the printer no later than July 31st of each year.

**ALFRED · A · KNOFF, *Publisher***

501 Madison Avenue, New York 22





# The European World

## A Historical Introduction

by PAUL FARMER, *University of Wisconsin*

"This looks like the book we have been looking for—simple enough to be comprehended by freshmen, not cluttered with excessive detail, yet covering the broad field which we feel should be covered in a course on Western civilization."

—HAROLD W. THATCHER, *Wilkes College*

"THE EUROPEAN WORLD represents an advisable scope of historical emphasis for the required survey of civilization courses for college beginners. Its inclusion of sections on the Far East and on North and South America is especially commendable, as too is its gradually expanding inclusion of more and more history and its diminishing chronological speed."

—E. J. URCH, *Defiance College*

"It is a very well-balanced and interestingly written text on world history. I think he gives an excellent over-all view with the proper proportion of space to each region and time. The format is very attractive. It is well supplied with maps, illustrations, and an excellent bibliography and index."

—HAROLD S. FINK, *University of Tennessee*  
656 pages, 34 illus., 30 maps; \$5.00

# The Political Collapse of Europe

by HAJO HOLBORN, *Yale University*

"A book of this nature has been looked for by those teachers and students who are more interested in interpretation without the massing of facts than in the dull regimentation of facts with interpretation."

—THOMAS E. ENNIS, *West Virginia University*

"Holborn's THE POLITICAL COLLAPSE OF EUROPE is an admirable volume, excellently organized, well written, thoughtful, and stimulating. It deserves to be widely used for supplementary reading in modern European history courses."

—HERMAN AUSUBEL, *Columbia University*

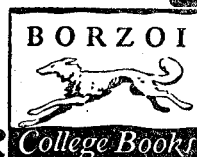
"He realizes, as only a student with his background can, what Americans know and do not know about the Old World. Wasting no words, he summarizes the circumstances that raised Europe to world dominance before 1914 and the changes since that have brought that continent to 'political collapse.' He places the problem in line with a true historical perspective."

—GEOFFREY BRUUN, *The New York Herald Tribune*  
216 pages; \$1.85 text

Examination copies on request

ALFRED A. KNOPF, *Publisher*

501 Madison Avenue New York 22



College Books

Now, at your  
fingertips . . .

Important Events in Recent  
History Presented  
Clearly, Accurately, Impartially!

Newsweek's  
**HISTORY  
OF  
OUR TIMES**  
IN TWO VOLUMES

**H**ERE, in two great volumes is the exciting story of the most crucial years in contemporary history—a vivid authoritative account of the national and international events that are affecting our lives right now—today!

Written by top *Newsweek* reporters and interpreted by expert analysts, this fascinating two-volume set covers the significant developments in all important fields—business, labor, politics, religion, art, science, sports, etc.

As interesting and easy to read as *Newsweek* itself, "History of Our Times" is a completely rewritten, seen-in-perspective account of history-making happenings—an important, highly significant contribution to a better understanding of the personalities, the decisions and the events that are changing our world, our nation, our very thinking.

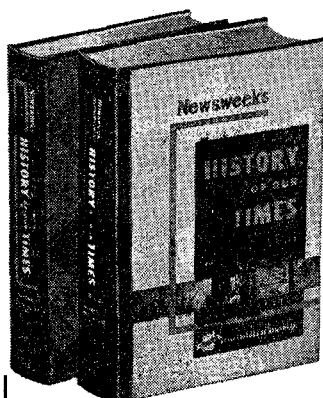
Illustrated with an exceptionally fine selection of news and human-interest photographs—fully indexed, and beautifully bound in cloth—an invaluable reference work for office or library.

**Acclaimed by:**

**Walter Winchell:**  
"What a picture of our times! Wouldn't have missed it for the world."

**H. V. Kaltenborn:**  
"It has an honored place on my reference shelf, and I am particularly delighted with the comprehensive index which adds so much to its reference value."

**Quincy Howe:** "It is first, last and all the time a readable story put together by journalists who have mastered the art of combining instruction with entertainment . . . such volumes will become more and more valuable as time passes."  
**John Barkham:** "Deserves a place on the reference shelf of every well-stocked library."



**NATIONAL AFFAIRS**

The Republic, The President, Foreign Policy, Politics, Congress, Taxes, Inquiries, Defense, Veterans, Elections, Communists, Atomic Age, Refugees, Trials, People

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

The Korean War, United Nations, North Atlantic Council, Atlantic Pact Powers, European Union, Economic Cooperation, Western Europe, Britain, Germany, Japan, Russia, Soviet Satellites, Eastern Europe, China, Asia, Middle East, Africa, Canada, Latin America

**BUSINESS**

Mobilization, The Economy, Economic Advisers, World Trade, Labor, Agriculture, Stock Market, Money and Credit, Monopolies, Steel, Strikes, Automobiles, Aviation, Housing, Transportation, Devaluation, Utilities, Consumer Goods, Production, Plants, Management, Deaths

**ARTS, SCIENCES  
and ENTERTAINMENT**

Medicine, Radio and Television, Press, Music, Dance, Education, Religion, Science, Sports, Theater, Movies, Art, Books

**CHRONOLOGY-INDEX**

Available at your bookstore . . . . \$12.00

or, if more convenient, we will be delighted to send you this two-volume reference work on approval. Just fill in and mail the coupon below.

**FREE-EXAMINATION COUPON**

Funk & Wagnalls Company Dept. AHR-951  
153 East 24th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Please send me *Newsweek's History of Our Times* on approval. Within ten days I will either return this two-volume set, or send you \$12.00 plus a few cents postage. (If you send the \$12.00 with this coupon, we will pay postage. Same return privilege and refund guarantee.)

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE.....

# ★ { Powerful men in politics } ★

## LLOYD GEORGE

BY THOMAS JONES

Fiercely hated and fiercely admired, Lloyd George—the stormy petrel of British politics—emerged from obscurity to back Churchill against Chamberlain during World War II. Now that a second victory and a second peace have fallen on evil days, there is a particular interest to this lively biography of England's fiery Prime Minister during World War I—his phenomenal rise, his dramatic eclipse. *Illustrated. \$5.00*

## AMERICAN CONSERVATISM IN THE AGE OF ENTERPRISE

BY ROBERT GREEN McCLOSKEY

Mr. McCloskey studies a scholar, a jurist, and a businessman, showing how liberty came to mean *laissez-faire* in each of their three fields. An interesting account of the metamorphosis of the democratic tradition in post-Civil War America. *\$3.25*

## THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

EDITED BY ELTING E. MORISON

"T. R.'s" letters are to be published in four two-volume sets during 1951 and 1952. The first set, *The Years of Preparation* (1868-1900), is already out. Ready now: two new volumes IV and V (*The Square Deal* 1901-1905). *Illustrated. Each 2-volume set \$20.00*

## FOUNDATIONS OF TUDOR POLICY

BY W. GORDON ZEEVELD

A revealing study of the scholar-propagandists under Henry VIII—what they accomplished and how far-reaching their political and social theory became. *\$5.00*

## EVOLUTION AND THE FOUNDERS OF PRAGMATISM

BY PHILIP P. WIENER. FOREWORD BY JOHN DEWEY

A brilliant group of men—William James, Charles S. Pierce, Oliver Wendell Holmes and others—met around Harvard in the 60's and 70's. Mr. Wiener shows how their discussions of evolution resulted in the native American liberal philosophy, pragmatism. *\$5.00*

At all  
bookstores, or



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts





# Princeton

## **Powell of the Colorado**

By *WILLIAM CULP DARRAH*. An exciting biography of John Wesley Powell—the first American explorer of the unmapped Colorado River. As director of the U.S. Geological Survey, he effectively called attention to the problems of the arid West and of conservation. Later, as first director of the Bureau of Ethnology, he was one of the earliest government leaders to take an enlightened view of the Indians.

*Illus.* \$6.00

## **The Letters of Benjamin Rush**

*Edited by L. H. BUTTERFIELD*. Full of flavor and zest, this collection of over 650 letters traces Benjamin Rush's career from student in Scotland and England to Philadelphia's leading physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence.

*Published for the American Philosophical Society. 2 vols., 1300 pages.*  
\$15.00

## **Modern France:**

### **PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH REPUBLICS**

*Edited by EDWARD MEAD EARLE*. The most comprehensive study of Modern France to appear in recent years, published at a time when French stability and vitality are of anxious concern to the whole world. "Indispensable to students of French affairs . . . thorough, lucid, and well balanced."—*Albert Guérard*. "An authoritative symposium"—*New York Herald Tribune*. 528 pages, \$6.00

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE, PRINCETON

# University Press

---

## ***The Road to Pearl Harbor***

By HERBERT FEIS. "A remarkably clear and complete job . . . In time new materials may come to light, but there is little probability that they will alter the story appreciably."—*American Historical Review*. "Such a complete, scholarly, and balanced account of the events that led up to the tragedy that it may be regarded as the final word."—*N. Y. Times*.

\$5.00

## ***The U.S. Marines and Amphibious War***

By JETER A. ISELY and PHILIP A. CROWL. A study of amphibious doctrine, following its development from long before the Second World War to its culmination in the modern techniques of amphibious assault across a heavily defended beach. "A uniquely honest, fair and balanced example of military writing. Relentlessly accurate."—*N. Y. Times*

*Illus.* \$7.50

## ***The Soviets in World Affairs***

By LOUIS FISCHER. A basic document in Russian history, first issued in 1930, covering the post-revolution period 1917-1929. A monumental work, based on sources no longer available which included a unique opportunity to work in the Soviet archives and many long interviews with such leaders as Chicherin and Litvinov. "Even more important for American readers than it appeared to be 21 years ago."—*Saturday Review*. 2 volumes, 892 pages, \$10.00

---

UNIVERSITY PRESS



## *A Fresh Approach to History*

|||  
**with Craven-Johnson-Dunn:**

**A Documentary History of the American People**

Just published, this book presents the persons movements, and issues of American history through carefully selected source materials and commentaries. Important speeches, letters, and journals, arranged chronologically, reflect the conflicts and ideas of their time. Comments by authorities give provocative interpretations. The main currents of American political, economic, and social life are represented. Offers unique possibilities for use with any standard college text, and especially...

|||  
**with Craven-Johnson:**

**The United States—Experiment in Democracy**

The popular one-volume text which catches the spirit and tempo of America as it traces the growth of democratic institutions and thought. Gives special insight into such topics as the development of American nationalism and the changing economic order. Consistently relates the United States to a world setting.

HOME OFFICE:  
BOSTON

**Ginn and Company** NEW YORK 11

CHICAGO 16 ATLANTA 3 DALLAS 1 COLUMBUS 16 SAN FRANCISCO 3 TORONTO 5



# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

*Vol. LVII, No. 1*

*October, 1951*

---

## Still Another Renaissance?

ROBERT SABATINO LOPEZ

WE have certainly gone a long way toward the full rehabilitation of the Middle Ages since the days when Oliver Goldsmith hardly dared include Dante, "who first followed nature and was persecuted by the critics as long as he lived," in his description of the brave new world of polite learning. The outer works of the medieval citadel already have crumbled under a concentric attack. On the one hand, Pirenne has shown that Roman institutions, economy, and culture survived in western Europe up to the time of Heraclius and Mohammed in the seventh century. On the other hand, Michelet's and Burckhardt's Renaissance—with a capital R—has been extended backward until it has amalgamated, as it were, with Haskins' twelfth-century renaissance, which in turn has been traced to causes deeply rooted in the religious, political, and social stirrings of the late eleventh century. There still remained some three or four hundred years of medieval bleakness—but even this is so illuminated by the Carolingian renaissance, the Anglo-Saxon renaissance, and the Ottonian renaissance, that one wonders whether any meaning is left to the term Middle Ages. Indeed Liutprand of Cremona knew more Greek than did Shakespeare, and the Goliardic poems were less otherworldly than the *Paradise Lost*. Read Alfons Dopsch uncritically,

and you may be led to think that in so far as economy and institutions are concerned there were no Middle Ages at all. Follow the meandering thought of Strzygowski up to its extreme conclusions, and you may be forced to blush for having regarded the Middle Ages as artistic decadence. You also may feel distress at living in the twentieth century if you share the enthusiasm of certain Neo-Guelph writers for what they call the Age of Faith.<sup>1</sup>

We must not exaggerate. Obviously there was a strong difference between the empires of Constantine, Charlemagne, and Charles V; obviously the renaissances of Alcuin and Abelard were a far cry from that of Michelangelo and More. Perhaps not so obvious, but equally undeniable, is the fact that the lofty ideals of medieval religion were no more, though no less, effective in molding political activity and the way of life than are our ideals of democracy, equality, toleration, and progress. Yet it has become apparent that the Middle Ages were not a uniform stretch of depression, that there were lights as well as shadows, and that the turning point—if there are any turning points in the history of civilization—lies neither at the beginning nor at the end but right in the middle. We are still duly impressed by the twilight of the fifth century and the glare of the fifteenth, but we regard the dawn of the tenth century as the announcement of more profound changes. If renaissance be understood in its original meaning of revival, new birth, or, indeed, new conception, no period in European history seems entitled to be called renaissance more than the tenth century.

What was born in the renaissance of the tenth century? First of all, a great many children. This is a very elementary, but very important basis for the birth of a new age. Though many scholars have maintained that the growth of the population at that period was not owing to an increase in the birth rate but to better chances of survival for the living—and hence it was a consequence rather than a cause of progress—there are no proofs at all that life was more sheltered and that economic resources were more plentiful in the tenth century than they had been before. There were certainly as many wars and probably as many epidemics as in the ninth century. The important technical improvements in agriculture and transportation which made their appearance in the tenth century could not spread so rapidly and so generally

<sup>1</sup> It would be impossible to supply adequate references in a paper which endeavors to survey the civilization of the tenth century in some of its broadest and most controversial aspects. The paper is based largely on a re-examination of primary sources, but the reader will easily discover how much it owes to classic works such as those of Michele Amari, Marc Bloch, Charles Homer Haskins, Eduardo Hinojosa, Ernst Mayer, Henri Pirenne, Silvio Pivano, Adolf Schaube, and many others who have not always been cited, including some with whose views the writer disagrees. Citations in the footnotes list only a few recent contributions which seem remarkable or which give references to sources and earlier research. For the latter reason—namely, their bibliographies—some papers of the writer also have been cited.

that they might change the expectation of life of the common man everywhere in Europe. Moreover, there are indications that in the tenth century the population trend was common to the entire Old World, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, including regions where the economic and political background was radically different from that of the European West. In western Europe more men handling better tools headed for a millennium of material and moral progress, but in northwest Africa a long depression followed the peak of the tenth century, and in China the increase of the population seems to have spelled greater poverty to the masses.<sup>2</sup>

We cannot tell why the human plant became more vigorous and fertile in the tenth century, even as we are unable to forecast demographic trends in the near future, but we can trace its growth throughout the Eastern Hemisphere. The Chinese census of 845 recorded a population of some thirty millions; almost ninety millions were counted in 1083. Without forgetting Wittfogel's warning about the unreliability of Chinese population figures we may accept the figures as rough indications of a trend which is confirmed by other sources. A writer of the early eleventh century draws a grim picture of the agrarian proletariat, forced to bid for work in the large estates where immigrants are welcome if they bend their back to a hard yoke. Other laborers left their homes in old China to colonize frontier regions in the south. Still farther south, in Malay and Sumatra, the "enormous population" of the kingdoms of Zābag and Kalāh, then at their height, amazed the Muslim travelers. These travelers also noted the swift growth of the Chola empire in India. Other peoples were spilling over from the great reservoir of central Asia. The Mongolian tribes of the Khitai and the Tangut broke through the Great Wall to occupy part of the oldest Chinese territory in the north. Other Mongolians and Turks had to look for outlets more to the west. Large groups encroached upon Muslim territory, where they met many of their kinsmen who had previously entered the caliphate as mercenaries or as slaves. Tens of thousands of Turks and Slavs were sold, often by fathers who had no surplus products to offer but children, in the Muslim markets, already well stocked with Negro slaves. Some Turkish bands, unable to find

<sup>2</sup> While waiting for the publication of the proceedings of the Ninth International Historical Convention in Paris, where demographic problems were discussed at length, one may see the bibliography in Josiah C. Russell, "Demographic Pattern in History," *Population Studies*, I (1948). A particularly optimistic view in Hans van Werveke, "De Bevolkingsdichtheid in de IXe eeuw," *Annales du XXXe Congrès de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique* (1936). Perhaps the most convincing reason for the turning of the tide in the West is that suggested by Strayer: "Europe had hit rock-bottom. . . . Now that there was little left to destroy, almost any activity had to be constructive." (Joseph R. Strayer and Dana C. Munro, *The Middle Ages* [New York, 1942], p. 158.) This, however, does not account for similar population trends in the Near and Far East. Could climate have something to do with secular waves in demographic cycles?



a *Lebensraum* in Asia, after a long trek were finally exterminated in Greece; a large section of the Magyar people successfully concluded a still longer trek in central Europe; other tribes held out in the Near East and laid the foundations of what was later to be the Seljuk Empire.<sup>3</sup>

Demographic pressure also was growing among the Muslims; no wonder when, thanks to polygamy, spinsters were extremely rare. The mass movement of Muslim peoples in the tenth century surpassed in size if not in military achievements the expeditions of the first caliphs. Bands of ghazis (warriors for the faith) traded blows with the Byzantine *akritai* of the Anatolian frontier and with Lombards and Saxons in southern Italy. Others poured into India with the Ghaznevids, struck far north up to and beyond the Alps, swarmed southward into the African desert. There, on artificially irrigated land which now the desert has reconquered, Sijilmāsa became the capital of a thriving heretic kingdom. At the opposite end of the hemisphere, other Muslim heretics settled in Korea. Isolated pioneers and caravans of merchants reached countries untouched by Muslim conquest and colonization. They went up the frozen rivers of northern Russia and down along the torrid coasts of southeast Africa. Some of them made their way through uncivilized Finnish and western Slavic territory to the half-civilized outposts of western Europe. Here they met other Muslims who came north from Spain. "England," says a Persian geographer of the tenth century, "is the mart of the Romans and of the Andalusians." A sailor's tale, which may contain a kernel of truth, tells of a Muslim ship which sailed westward from Lisbon and was stranded on an island in the Atlantic inhabited by savages. The splendor of the Umayyad and Fatimid caliphates of Spain and Egypt at that time fully offset the political eclipse of the Abassid regime. To be sure, the "Renaissance of the Islam," as Mez calls the climax of Muslim expansion, was not limited to the tenth century, but recent investigations of Lombard and Minorsky tend to show that the tenth century marked the zenith.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng, *History of Chinese Society, Liao*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, XXXVI (Philadelphia, 1949); René Grousset, *Histoire de la Chine* (Paris, 1942) and *L'Empire des steppes* (2d ed., Paris, 1941); Lawrence P. Briggs, "The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, IX (1950); Vasilii V. Barthold, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin, 1935); Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1942-43); Gina Fasoli, *Le incursioni ungare in Europa nel secolo X* (Florence, 1945).

<sup>4</sup> Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, 1922)—a rather infelicitous English translation appeared in Calcutta and London in 1927, extraordinarily enough, under the name of the translator); Maurice Lombard, "L'Or musulman du VII<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle" and "Mahomet et Charlemagne," *Annales (Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, II and III (1947-48); Vladimir Minorsky, introd. and footnotes to *Hudud al-Alam* (London, 1937); Evariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I (Cairo, 1944)—Spanish translation, with an introd. by E. García Gómez (Madrid, 1950); Gaston Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe* (Paris, 1937), mediocre; Wolseley

The tenth century was perhaps the brightest in the Middle Ages for other peoples who did not belong to the "Christiana Respublica," the Catholic Commonwealth—the Greeks, the Russians, and the Jews. Indeed in the ninth century already the "Radanite" Jews shuttled between Spain and China by three land and sea routes, but they were a small group of merchants whose precarious prosperity rested upon the general decline of trade and the blocking of commercial routes to others. Later, in the twelfth century, the Jewish communities probably were larger and had more strings to their harp, but they were restricted by growing Catholic and Muslim intolerance. In the tenth century Jewish colonies flourished throughout the Eastern Hemisphere, persecution being exceptional and localized, and their demographic and economic expansion paid dividends in the intellectual field. In a large part of western Europe the Jews were unchallenged leaders in trade; in the Muslim world they often rose to the highest economic, social, and official positions; in the Khazar state they ruled.<sup>5</sup> The collapse of Khazaria before the end of the tenth century only marked the triumph of Kievan Russia, another civilization which reached its material and moral zenith about that time. When we admire the achievements of the early Russian state we must not think only in terms of towns springing up as if by enchantment along a thin lifeline of rivers which were alleys to international trade. Towns and trade were very remarkable for the time, but they did not endure. More lasting was the obscure work of peasants breaking the primeval forest far beyond the pale.<sup>6</sup> Nor must we forget that the tenth century saw perhaps the finest hour of the Byzantine Empire. Industry and trade flourished in the towns, and the emperors defended the peasants from enemy incursions and from the relentless pressure of the "powerful," the barons and the monasteries which tried to enlarge their immense holdings. Although one may question whether higher peaks were not reached at other periods, there can be no doubt that under the Macedonian dynasty the power, the wealth, the literary and artistic production of the oldest empire in Europe blossomed in a new youth.<sup>7</sup>

---

Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, III (1928); Gerard Salinger, "Was the Futūwa an Oriental Form of Chivalry?" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIV (1950); Francesco Gabrieli, *Storia e civiltà musulmana* (Naples, 1947); etc.

<sup>5</sup> Julius Brutzkus, "Trade with Eastern Europe, 800–1200," *Economic History Review*, XIII (1943); Walter J. Fischel, *The Jews in the Economic and Political Life of the Medieval Islam* (London, 1937); Lewis Rabinowitz, *Jewish Merchant Adventurers* (London, 1948)—but see the review of this book by Joshua Starr in *Jewish Social Studies*, XII (1950), 276 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Exhaustive bibliography in George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948).

<sup>7</sup> On the Byzantine population, see André M. Andréadès in *Byzantium*, ed. Norman H. Baynes and Henry St. L. B. Moss, pp. 51–70; on agrarian developments, bibliography in George Ostrogorsky in *Cambridge Economic History*, I, 579–83—and see now Peter Charanis, "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, IV (1948);

For the larger part of Europe the tenth century was the prime of youth. The peoples were small but they grew rapidly in numbers. Overpopulated and quarrelsome Scandinavia engaged in one of the most daring westward treks in history. Between 874 and 930 hundreds of Norsemen with their households settled in faraway Iceland. At the close of the period what had been called the "Desert in the Ocean" had a population of about 25,000 according to conservative estimates. Less than fifty years later, a new migration led to the establishment of some 280 farms in Greenland, where no farming is attempted today. Neither country, however, sufficed to the expansion of the Scandinavians, who before the century was over sought another outlet in America. Meanwhile settlement in the three Scandinavian kingdoms was becoming thicker, and Varangians, Normans, and Danes roamed far and wide into the core of Europe.<sup>8</sup> Here they found more organized resistance than in the recent past. The core of Europe in the tenth century witnessed a tremendous quickening of the settlement process which had been carried out in a desultory way before the great invasions of the ninth century. No matter how much destruction was left by later returns of the Norse, Slavic, Magyar, or Saracen invaders, in the tenth century there always were landless peasants eager to go to the deserted lands and to exploit more and more thoroughly whatever new areas were offered to the plow. True, there still were countries so rich in unused land that the cultivators fluctuated from one region to another, clearing a forest and exploiting the soil until its exhaustion forced them again to move, clear another forest, and let the former clearing recover its mantle of trees. In a large part of western Europe, however, the peasants had to learn how to economize the soil and how to make inferior land productive. Reclamation of marshes, irrigation of waste, changes in the rotation of crops, and improvements in agricultural tools first appear or become more frequent in the tenth century.<sup>9</sup>

Gautier and Marçais have gathered information to prove that about the same period a sedentary civilization, based on intensive agriculture and city life, was emerging in northwest Africa. Around 1050, however, the invasions of the Hilalian Arabs again set loose the nomadic tribes and frus-

---

on town life, industry, and trade, bibliography in Robert S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum*, XX (1945). It is also worth noting that the Bulgarian Empire also was at its peak in the tenth century although the superior force of the Byzantine Empire crushed it.

<sup>8</sup> Poul Nörlund, *Viking Settlers in Greenland and Their Descendants* (London, 1936); Halldór Hermannsson, *The Vinland Sagas* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1944); Knut Liestøl, *The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas* (Oslo, 1930); further bibliography in Giovanni Bach *et al.*, *The History of the Scandinavian Literatures* (New York, 1938).

<sup>9</sup> Richard Koebner in *Cambridge Economic History*, I, 1-88, with a select bibliography pp. 565-70; see also below, nn. 26, 27, 28.



trated all attempts to build the entire country into a prosperous nation.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, or shortly thereafter, the development of the Byzantine Empire and that of Kievan Russia also were interrupted by the clash with other wanderers, the Seljuk and Petcheneg Turks. The region of western and central Europe was more fortunate. The process of settlement, so happily undertaken in the tenth century, has continued and gathered new speed ever since; the anonymous toil of the peasants prepared and accompanied the slow emergence of the bourgeoisie, which was to gain momentum in the following centuries from the spring of the medieval commercial revolution to the summer of the contemporary Industrial Revolution. The humble beginnings of the tenth century ushered in the long age of European preponderance in the world.

Although the European bourgeoisie was puny as compared to the urban masses of other areas, the revival of old towns and the birth of new ones in the tenth century were of greater consequence than the flowering of larger cities in the Chinese, Muslim, or Byzantine worlds. The latter were not allowed to develop unbrokenly, great disasters often succeeding periods of unequalled prosperity. In the tenth century, however, the growth of the population everywhere swelled the towns faster than the villages. It was then that Peking began to play a great role as one of the five "capitals" of the Liao empire. In the same period Cairo and Tunis, heirs to Memphis and Carthage, jumped to the foreground in Egypt and northwest Africa. Of the old capitals which preserved their rank Constantinople outshone Baghdad because the Byzantine Empire was attaining a new youth whereas the Abassid caliphate was on the verge of disintegrating, but the economic prosperity of Baghdad continued to grow notwithstanding the political crisis.<sup>11</sup> In western Europe, Paris and London reached for the functions of national and international leaders, which no French or English city had fulfilled before. Among the many villages which became towns in the tenth century we may number Algiers and Antwerp, to limit ourselves to the first letter of the alphabet. Bolghar, Bremen, Kiev, Itil, Magdeburg, Prague, frontier towns in half-developed surroundings, became gathering places for the agricultural surpluses of their districts and meeting places for merchants of distant regions. In southern Europe the old Roman towns rebuilt the walls, built new suburbs, and faced unyieldingly wave after wave of invasion, the

<sup>10</sup> Emile Gautier, *Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb* (Paris, 1927); Georges Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge* (Paris, 1946). Above all, however, see the greatest historian of the Middle Ages, Ibn Khaldun; bibliography on him in Charles Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History* (London, 1950).

<sup>11</sup> On Peking see Wittfogel and Fêng, and Grousset, cited above, n. 3. On the Muslim towns see the pertinent articles in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; more recent works by Jean Sauvaget, Reuben Lévy, Evariste Lévi-Provençal, etc., are listed in the select bibliography by Lopez in *Cambridge Economic History*, II.

repetition of the raids being in itself a proof that new riches were being accumulated constantly. Pavia, for instance, was half destroyed in 924 by the Magyars; fifty years later, it was a lively commercial center impressing Hrotswitha with its unusual size. Asti, a minor town near the Alpine passes where the Saracens of Fraxinetum were constantly preying upon traders and pilgrims, astonished an Arab traveler by the efficient organization of its market.<sup>12</sup>

As a matter of fact, in the tenth century the techniques which had given Easterners an overwhelming superiority in trade were being adopted in some parts of Europe, Italy above all. *Collegantia* or *commenda* agreements between an investor and a manager, Europe's improved version of the Muslim *mudharaba* and of the Byzantine *chreokoinonia*, are mentioned in a Venetian document of 976 together with other important commercial contracts of the new age. These contracts were to the growing number of *negotiatores* and *mercatores* what the *complantatio* and the *colonia partiaria* agreements between a landowner and a peasant, also emerging in Italy and southern France at that period, were to agricultural life. They brought together capital and labor in the most convenient way. Their origin probably goes much farther back than the first references in extant documents, but their spread was chiefly a new phenomenon of the tenth century and of the following ones.<sup>13</sup> The legal instruments of commercial expansion were thus made available, but expansion could take place only if the means of communication were improved. The newly contrived Italo-Byzantine galley, which supplied a happy compromise between sturdiness and capaciousness on the one hand, speed and cheapness on the other, was now taking the upper hand over the Viking boat, so fast and easy to build but hopelessly small and

<sup>12</sup> J. Lestocquoy, "The Tenth Century," *Economic History Review*, XVII (1947); François L. Ganshof, *Etude sur le développement des villes entre Loire et Rhin au moyen âge* (Paris and Brussels, 1944); Hans Planitz, "Frühgeschichte der deutschen Stadt IX-XI Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germ. Abt., LXIII (1943); André Dupont, *Les cités de la Narbonnaise première depuis les invasions germaniques jusqu'au Consulat* (Nîmes, 1942); Luis G. de Valdeavellano, "El mercado, apuntes para su estudio en León y Castilla," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, VIII (1931)—for Catalonia, where markets are mentioned in the tenth century but there is no notable development of towns, see now José M. Font Rius, "Orígenes del régimen municipal de Cataluña," *ibid.*, XVI (1945); James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936); Filippo Carli, *Il mercato nell'alto medioevo and Il mercato nell'età del Comune* (Padua, 1931 and 1936); Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica d'Italia*, I (Rome, 1949). Further bibliography in Hans van Werveke in *Cambridge Economic History*, II.

<sup>13</sup> The voluminous bibliography on the *commenda* is listed in Guido Astuti, *Origini e svolgimento della commenda fino al secolo XIII* (Turin, 1933) and that on other commercial contracts in Enrico Besta, *Le obbligazioni nella storia del diritto italiano* (Padua, 1937); some more recent works are listed in Section III of R. S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (to appear in the "Records of Civilization" series of the Columbia University Press). On agrarian contracts, bibliography in Juan Beneyto-Pérez, *Estudios sobre la historia del régimen agrario* (Barcelona, 1941); Mario Luzzatto, "Contributo alla storia del contratto di mezzadria," *Nuova rivista storica*, XXXII (1948); Roger Grand and Raymond Delatouche, *L'agriculture au moyen âge* (Paris, 1950).

fragile. The Norsemen themselves were to build larger if slower vessels. In overland transportation slow barges pulled by oars or towed by man and horse through river and canal were still rendering important services in the conveyance of cheap bulky goods, but they could not carry all the merchandise. Happily the horseshoe and the horse collar, long known to Slavs, Greeks, and Orientals but seldom used in western Europe before, in the tenth century spread rapidly to the German and Romance peoples. Henceforth the full power of the horse would be used. In mountainous regions, however, mules were long to remain more useful than horses—and it was another important gain that mules became more common and less expensive as the century advanced.<sup>14</sup>

This incipient commercial revolution multiplied the opportunities for international trade and intercourse. Travel ceased to be looked upon as an abnormal and presumably ill-intentioned activity. At the beginning of the tenth century the Byzantine Empire still confined foreign merchants to special buildings in a small number of towns and forbade them to settle within its borders. Similar restrictions existed in the Muslim territory and in Catholic Europe, although they were not fully enforced. During the tenth century, however, the example of China, which permitted foreigners to found autonomous commercial colonies was imitated in other countries. The Muslims established autonomous settlements in India, in the Khazar state, and in Constantinople. Soon al-Bīrunī would be able to show the immense progress of geography since the time of Ptolemy. "The different peoples," he says, "are brought together in mutual understanding. . . . To obtain information concerning places of the earth has now become incomparably easier and safer." Even Catholic Europe organized inns along the main highways and multiplied the fairs where strangers might trade for a limited time. The roads were crammed with travelers from every walk of life. French adventurers flocked to Italy under King Hugh, Italian scholars were invited to Germany by the Saxonian emperors, German missionaries spread their *Kultur* to the more or less willing Slavs. Bishops and prelates were

<sup>14</sup> André Haudricourt, "De l'origine de l'attelage moderne," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, VIII (1936); Lynn T. White, "Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XV (1940); Carl Stephenson, "In Praise of Medieval Tinkers," *Journal of Economic History*, VIII (1948), and see, on the same documents, Franz M. Feldhaus, *Geschichte der Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters* (Potsdam, 1931), pp. 253 ff.; Leicester B. Holland, *Traffic Ways about France in the Dark Ages* (Allentown, Pa., 1919); Giulio C. Zimolo, "Cremona nella storia della navigazione interna," *Atti e memorie del III Congresso storico Lombardo* (Milan, 1939), etc. But there is no work dealing specially with the mule, and no satisfactory work on Scandinavian shipping. On the Byzantine navy there is some information in Louis Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1949), pp. 404 ff.; on later Italian ships the most recent works are Raffaele Di Tucci, *Studi sull'economia genovese del secolo XII* (Turin, 1933) and Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1934).

carried by their official duties to distant seas, where they came across Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, Byzantine emissaries, Muslim and Mozarab merchants. Along the road from Verdun to the Alps Jewish slave traders and Lotharingian clergy traveled happily together.<sup>15</sup>

This mobility of the population partly offset the isolation of manor and fief in the vacuum which the final collapse of the still-born Carolingian Empire had left. The necessity of joining forces against common enemies—Saracens, Magyars, Normans, or merely unruly noblemen across the border—created new ties. On the one hand, the Mediterranean, which had never been barred to Byzantine, Venetian, or Amalfitan convoys, now became a better link between opposite shores. Too much credence has been given to the retroactive boast of a fourteenth-century Muslim historian, that in the tenth century “the Christians could not float a plank on the sea”; two Muslim historians of the tenth century mention peaceful trade between African and Christian seaports, and naval attacks by Christians, whom the Muslims could not easily withstand.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, Europe was now emerging as a new economic, cultural, and political unit. The imperial restoration of Otto the Great was much more durable than that of Charlemagne. The emperor not only welded together Germany and Italy but also acted as a superior lord and arbiter in France, and found the king of Burgundy a most obedient vassal. His successors were to have little authority beyond the limits of the empire, but the shrinking of the empire would be counterbalanced by the expansion of the church. Already in the tenth century Gerbert—Sylvester II, the adviser of Hugh Capet and the collaborator of Otto III—stands out as a far more prepossessing figure than Pope Leo III, the supporter of Charlemagne. He was an intellectual leader, and, by sending a crown to St. Stephen of Hungary, he began the series of monarchs who were to acknowledge their kingdoms as fiefs held of the see of St. Peter.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Bibliography in R. S. Lopez, “Du marché temporaire à la colonie permanente,” *Annales (Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, IV (1949); Etienne Sabbe, “L’importation des tissus orientaux en Europe Occidentale aux ix<sup>e</sup> et x<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire*, XIV (1935); Nafis Ahmad, *Muslim Contribution to Geography* (Lahore, 1947). The statements of al-Biruni (973–1048), who lived at the court of Ghaznah, stem from the same period as the first movements for the Peace of God and Truce of God in France. On these the most recent work is Roger Bonnaud-Delamare, “Fondement des institutions de paix au xi<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Mélanges d’histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951).

<sup>16</sup> It is unfortunate that the great work of a great master has given a new lease of life to the double misconception which described the Muslims as hostile to trade with the Christians and the Christians as afraid of sailing in waters dominated by the Muslims. On the economic aspects of the problem besides Lombard, quoted above, see the select bibliography in Daniel C. Dennett, “Pirenne and Muhammad,” *Speculum*, XXIII (1948). On the military aspects see Roberto Cessi, *Venezia Ducale*, 2 vols. (Padua, 1928–29; R. S. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo* (Bologna, 1938); Gennaro M. Monti, *L’espansione mediterranea del Mezzogiorno e della Sicilia* (Bologna, 1942); Archibald R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, 500–1100* (Princeton, 1951), with bibliography.

<sup>17</sup> Bibliography in Arsenio Frugoni, *Papato, impero e regni occidentali* (Florence, 1940);

Beneath the revival of the ideals of universal church and universal empire, the terrain was prepared for the growth of something still more durable and concrete: the European nations. The map of Europe was completed in the tenth century, as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Russia at last found their unity and accepted, with the Christian religion, the elements of civilized life and orderly administration. For these peoples, hitherto beyond the pale, it was a new birth. It was a rebirth for the older nations of western Europe, which had lost their identity first under the leveling influence of the Roman order, then under the disrupting impact of the barbarian disorder. Political unity was approaching in England, in spite of Danish invasions—the title *totius Britanniae basileus* was proudly assumed by the kings of Wessex; in France, notwithstanding feudal anarchy, there was taking place a definitive separation of the Romance-speaking western Franks from their German-speaking eastern brothers. Spain itself under the Umayyads was emerging from the melting pot of peoples as a new nation. Germany and Italy after an experiment of separate life were again forced together, but they found some consciousness of their different traditions through mutual dislike of Romans and Teutons, which expressed itself in local popular uprisings and in the angry outbursts of such men as Liutprand of Cremona. Nor must we forget that Byzantine and Western missionaries, soldiers, and diplomats were now contending for the last remaining stretches of neutral ground and preparing the day when East and West would part—never to be completely reunited up to our time.<sup>18</sup>

Still, Eastern and Western traditions, papal and imperial pretensions, and even national feelings in the tenth century were too large and too remote to affect deeply the everyday life of the common man. There was more immediate significance in humbler associations of a local character, which blossomed out everywhere at this period. A historian of antiquity, Heichel-

---

Miguel de Ferdinandy, "Sobre el poder temporal en la cultura occidental alrededor del año 1000," *Universidad nacional de Buenos Aires, Anales de historia antigua y medieval*, I (1948); Anthony F. Czajkowski, "The Congress of Gniezno in the Year 1000," *Speculum*, XXIV (1949) on Gerbert bibliography in Jean Leflon, *Gerbert: Humanisme et Chrétienté au x<sup>e</sup> siècle* (St. Wandrille, 1946); Oscar G. Darlington, "Gerbert the Teacher," *AHR*, LII (1947).

<sup>18</sup> Of course we do not imply that true nationalism existed in the tenth century in western Europe. Though a Frankish historian about 830 asserted that the establishment of new kingdoms on Roman territory constituted the beginning of a new era, his statement did not spring from a national consciousness comparable to ours; see Halvdan Koht, "The Dawn of Nationalism in Europe," *AHR*, LII (1947). But we cannot agree with Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1946) in regarding all hatreds of one medieval people against another as motivated by religious differences only. As early as the tenth century (and even earlier) we often see that such differences are not as decisive as the lack of common traditions, language, geographic background, or economic interests. See, for instance, M. Berza, "Sentiment national et esprit local chez les Lombards méridionaux aux ix<sup>e</sup>-x<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen*, XIX (1942); Erich Zöllner, *Die politische Stellung der Völker im Frankenreich* (Vienna, 1950), with bibliography.



heim, pointed out that toward the end of the ninth century the growth or the revival of professional guilds was noticeable almost simultaneously in the Muslim Near East with the Karmatian movement, in the Byzantine Empire with the regulation in the Book of the Prefect, and in the Western Jewish communities with the institution of the Herem Ha-Yishub (the latter, however, was actually somewhat later). Let us add that Pavia in the tenth century also had state-controlled teams of merchants and craftsmen, that guilds of a similar kind existed in Ravenna and Rome, and that the organized groups of craftsmen whom we meet in 1020 in Nájera and León, in Catholic Spain, must have had their origins in the tenth century if not earlier. By the year 1000 we come across a merchant gild in Tiel, "the new town of stone" by the mouth of the Rhine. In this particular instance one may perhaps think that the gild was formed by newly enriched adventurers such as those whom Henri Pirenne regarded as the fathers of medieval trade and urbanization, but more frequently the tenth century brought to maturity plants with older roots. Coornaert has shown that in a very large area of northwestern Europe merchant and professional guilds of the twelfth and thirteenth century arose from economic and social specialization of associations of fellow-drinkers and religious or charitable brotherhoods of the early Middle Ages, the tenth century being the crucial period during which the change occurred. For other guilds a Roman origin, however indirect, can be postulated—the "oaths" of the moneyers, with branches in every mint place of Italy, France, and Germany are a notable example—but the tenth century brings to them an entirely new life.<sup>19</sup>

Italy, which outstripped all other Western countries in commercial development, also had a more vigorous communal life. As early as 897 the "citizens" of Turin ousted the bishop from the town; a few years later the Romans forced King Hugh himself to run away from their city; the "people" and the merchants of Cremona in spite of many rebukes by kings and emperors kept encroaching upon the rights of their bishops. Sometimes groups and assemblies of upper-class men (*maiores*), free men (*milites*, *arimanni*), merchants (*negotiatores*), or the whole "people" (*populus*) of a town carried out their activities in collaboration with the legal authorities, but other times we see them acting as if no lay or ecclesiastic official except

<sup>19</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities* (3d ed., Princeton, 1939); Emile Coornaert, "Les ghildes médiévales," *Revue historique*, CXCIX (1948); Gunnar Mickwitz, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte* (Helsingfors, 1936); Pier Silverio Leicht, *Corporazioni romane e arti medievali* (Turin, 1937); R. S. Lopez, "Un millennio di storia delle associazioni di monetieri," *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, II (Milan, 1950) and, for the Byzantine guilds, bibliography in "Silk Industry" (above, n. 7) and in "La crise du besant au x<sup>e</sup> siècle et la date du Livre du Préfet," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, II (Brussels, 1950); Bernard Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds," *Economic History Review*, VIII (1937); Lewis Rabinowitz, *The Herem Hayyishub* (London, 1945).

the king had any power over them. "All the inhabitants" of Genoa obtained from King Berengar II full recognition of their customs, properties, and special rights; "certain men" of rural Lazise received from Otto II the grant of tolls and fisheries. In 945 King Lothar made the popular assemblies (*conventus civium*) of Mantua, Verona, and Brescia the arbiters of the monetary standard to be adopted by the Mantuan bishops in their districts. There were no true communes as yet, but communal activity of this kind, as Chiappelli, Mengozzi, Solmi, and many others have shown, was a preparation to self-government.<sup>20</sup> French towns did not advance with the same speed. Renée Doehaerd has pointed out the precocious development of Laon, but as late as 1111 the people of that town were unable to prevent their bishop from striking worthless money. Nevertheless, the French townsmen of the tenth century were not sleeping. As early as 916 the organized crafts or *ministeria* of St. Omer built the castle of that community. In 958 the people of Cambrai, in the border region between France and the empire, organized a conspiracy (*conjuratio*) against their bishop.<sup>21</sup> In Germany proper the stage of open revolt was not reached before the eleventh century, but in the late tenth the merchants of Hamburg, Bremen, Magdeburg, and other towns obtained collective privileges from the emperor.<sup>22</sup> Of English town life we know next to nothing at this early period, but we may perhaps attach some significance to the fact that special laws now recognized the special status of the so-called *ports* within the kingdom. The *witans* of four Devonshire boroughs are mentioned as early as 1018; if the views of Tait and Helen Cam are to prevail over those of Stephenson, we shall assume that similar town assemblies existed in London and elsewhere as early as the tenth century.<sup>23</sup> Assemblies of that kind seem to have been well established in a few semi-rural towns of Castile—"free and equalitarian Castile . . . where poor noblemen [*infanzones*] and small proprietors were grouped in embryonic rural communities without any lord."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Select bibliography in Paolo Brezzi, *I Comuni cittadini italiani, origine e primitiva costituzione* (Milan, 1940) and in Gino Luzzatto, quoted above, n. 12.

<sup>21</sup> Bibliography for northern France in Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises* (Paris, 1947); for southern France, in Ferdinand Lot, *Recherches sur la population et la superficie des cités remontant à la période gallo-romaine, Sud-Est* (Paris, 1945-46) and in Dupont, quoted above, n. 12. On Laon see now Renée Doehaerd, "Laon, capitale du vin," *Annales (Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, V (1950).

<sup>22</sup> Bibliography in Hans Planitz, "Die deutsche Stadtgemeinde," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germ. Abt., LXIV (1944) and in Edith Ennen, "Neuere Arbeiten zur Geschichte des nordwesteuropäischen Städtewesens im Mittelalter," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXXVIII (1949).

<sup>23</sup> Besides Tait, quoted above, n. 12, see Reginald R. Darlington, "The Early History of English Towns," *History*, XXIII (1938); Helen Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1944).

<sup>24</sup> Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "El precio de la vida en el reino astur-leonés hace mil años,"

Naturally it is very hard to gather information on the corporate life of country people, but there is no reason to believe that it lagged much behind that of the smaller urban communities. Indeed, towns in many regions were little more than overgrown villages, and their inhabitants were not brought together as closely as peasants were by communal agriculture, social uniformity, and small size of the agglomerations. Without going to such extremes as the scholars who traced the origin of urban communes back to the rural community, we may observe many activities of country people which could have been a training for self-government, if they did not in themselves represent self-government. Some of them went back to immemorial times, such as the communal administration of common pastures and parish churches. Others seem to have been born or to have become more intensive in the tenth century, when groups of agriculturists entered upon agreements with lords for the cultivation of old settlements or for the establishment of new ones. We also hear of revolts of free and unfree peasants. Around the year 1000 the Norman peasants showed the same determination as the townsmen of Cambrai and Cremona in holding assemblies and making "conspiracies" against their lords. Probably the song of the rebels, which some overenthusiastic historians have called "*la Marseillaise de l'an Mil*," was a later invention; but the revolt itself is an ascertained and important fact. It is true that this insurrection was quenched in blood—as were, incidentally, the slightly earlier rebellions of the Irakian slaves and North African peasants under the Kharedjite flag. Revolts, however, are usually a token of growth. They show that new opportunities have given birth to new hopes.<sup>25</sup>

Calling the tenth century an epoch of great opportunities is not as paradoxical as it may seem at first. Consider that the lowest class of the population—slaves—all but disappeared in Catholic Europe at that period. Language itself, as Verlinden has shown, bears witness to this revolution. In the tenth century the word *servus* in the meaning of "slave" began to be replaced by *sclavus* (Slav) or *saracinus* (Muslim), as if to imply that no slaves were forthcoming any more from Christian countries. It is still doubtful whether this great step in the history of civilization was a cause or a consequence of labor-saving technological improvements, or whether it was

---

*Logos*, III (1945), p. 18 of the offprint. Bibliography there and in Valdeavellano, quoted above, n. 12.

<sup>25</sup> Bibliography in Marc Bloch, *La société féodale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939–40); Gian Piero Bognetti, *Sulle origini dei comuni rurali nel medioevo* (Pavia, 1926); Fabio Cusin, "Per la storia del castello medievale," *Rivista storica italiana*, ser. 5, IV (1939); Ernst Mayer, *Historia de las instituciones sociales y políticas de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1925–26)—stimulating but often unreliable; Georg von Below, *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft des Mittelalters* (Jena, 1937); see also below, nn. 27, 28. For a comparison with the Kharedjites see the works quoted above, n. 10.

connected with the increase in free manpower owing to the growth of the population. Be that as it may, the end of slavery meant that the ladder of human conditions began one step higher. And though the unprotected, but not unredeemable, status of a Roman or Muslim slave may have been richer in opportunities than the stagnant, dreary life of an ordinary medieval serf, we have reasons to believe advancement was not impossible for a serf in the tenth century. "Let us consider a son of a *praefectus* [that is, of a count or duke] whose grandfather is known to have been a *iudex*, the great-grandfather a *tribunus* or a *sculdascius*, and the great-great-grandfather a *miles* [a knight]. Who will remember, after all this, whether the father of that knight was a petty merchant or a painter, a bath attendant or a fowler, a fishmonger or a potter, a tailor or a sausage-maker, a muleteer or a driver of animals, or, lastly, a horseman or a peasant, a freeman or a serf?" These are the words of Raterius, the Belgian-born bishop of Verona in Italy. If they reflect real life with any accuracy, they show that five generations were sufficient to climb from the lowest to the highest rank, and six sufficed to lose track of the starting point.<sup>26</sup>

The society of the tenth century, it has often been stated, consisted exclusively of three classes: noblemen, clergy, and serfs. Recent investigations, however, have proved that freemen were still numerous everywhere except in the most thoroughly feudalized areas. In Saxony, in Frisia, in the northern Danelaw, in a large part of northern Italy freemen may even have outnumbered serfs. Servile conditions prevailed in France, but Marc Bloch has shown that between the completely free and the completely unfree there were many significant nuances, many persons who had lost some essential liberties but preserved others. In Bavaria, Dollinger has found "a land of knights who were serfs, serfs who were almost free, freemen who were almost serfs, and household slaves who were almost nobles." Nor was a serf altogether beyond redemption. The fact itself that according to feudal notions only the nobleman could bear arms and only a free clergy could intercede between man and God enabled many serfs to become free by taking up arms or ecclesiastic orders with or without the consent of their lords. Other serfs gained liberty simply by refusing to render villein services. The wars, the disorders, and the disorganization of the tenth century often made it comparatively easy to flout the orders of a lord. We read in the capitulary "De servis libertatem anhelantibus," of Otto III, these character-

<sup>26</sup> Bibliography in Charles Verlinden, "L'origine de *Sclavus*, Esclave," *Archivum latinitatis Medii Aevi*, XVII (1942); see also Marc Bloch, "Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage antique," *Annales (Economie-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, II (1947). The comments of Federico Patetta, "Studi sopra alcune iscrizioni medievali," *Memorie della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti in Modena*, ser. 3, VIII (1909) on Raterius have not lost their freshness.

istic statements: "It is necessary to hold great consultations because the princes of our empire, both lay and ecclesiastic . . . the richer and the poorer, the higher and the lower, are constantly complaining. . . . They cannot obtain due and proper obedience from their own serfs. . . . Some of these pretend that they are free because their lords are unable, as often happens, to prove their unfree status. . . . Others are allowed to claim the honor of liberty because their lords are busy with various occupations . . . and have forgotten about them for a long time."<sup>27</sup>

Not only individual men but often entire groups of serfs and commoners climbed the social ladder. Everywhere the peasants had good chances to improve their conditions if only they were willing to move to the new settlements where the lords offered liberty to the serf and property to the landless in order to populate their estates. Then and there, as in more recent times and in lands closer to us, frontier expansion was especially profitable to the powerful and the rich, but the many could glean in the field while the few harvested. Never before had there been so many opportunities from end to end of Catholic Europe—in the reclaimed plains of northern Italy, on the war-torn slopes of the Provençal coast, in the strips of no-man's land on the border between Catholic and Muslim Spain, in the swamps of the Low Countries, and in the forest clearings of the German frontier. Sometimes liberty was too much for humble men who struggled against military insecurity and economic stagnation: in Castile and in some regions of England and Germany the eleventh century was to bring a change for the worse. In other places, however, the peasants retained their gains. In Italy the tenth century saw the beginning of a process which in some other countries did not start before the thirteenth: a few lords took the initiative of transforming serfs into tenants in order to obtain cash rents and more willing and productive labor. Other serfs who did not obtain liberty fared still better. They became *servi de masnada* or *ministeriales*, collaborators of the lord in administration and war. In Germany the emperors themselves and many great feudal lords fostered the transformation of villeins into vassals. In 992 Otto III placed an indiscriminating *heribannus* (royal protection and military authority) upon both "free and serf knights." In the eleventh century Henry IV was to make an able if premature attempt to bypass his vassals and to govern the empire with the help of *ministeriales*. In France also this class of privileged serfs, who remind one of the freedmen

<sup>27</sup> Select bibliography in Marc Bloch in *Cambridge Economic History*, I, 583–87. See now also Philippe Dollinger, *L'évolution des classes rurales en Bavière depuis la fin de l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1949); the sentence in the text is not a quote from the book but from a review by Joseph R. Strayer in *Speculum*, XXV (1950), 269.



of antiquity, was heading for a brilliant future. Similarly in a large number of towns from Worms to Tournai the privileges granted in the tenth century to a class of semi-free dependents of churches and monasteries (*censuales*) were the seeds of the municipal liberties of the twelfth century. Massiet du Biest has described the gradual transformation of these former underlings into an exclusive urban aristocracy.<sup>28</sup>

Climbing was easier for the merchants (*negotiatores*) who owned land—all the more so as possession of land was almost a test of noble status—and some land could be purchased for cash, retained as mortgage for unpaid loans, or obtained as a reward for services to those who owned it. Liutfred, the “very rich merchant of Mainz” who was the envoy of Otto I to Constantinople, and Daribert, the merchant of Como to whom Otto III donated valuable land and a section of the town walls near the estates which already belonged to him, certainly were more influential men than many noblemen. Lestocquoy recently suggested that as early as the tenth century a patriciate may have been in process of formation in some cities. Indeed the process was well advanced in certain Italian towns, where the *negotiatores* and the *monetarii* (moneymen) had extensive possessions, transacted business with the nobility, intermarried with it, and were appointed assessors in the imperial tribunals. If we knew the origin of the “patrician” families which came to the fore in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we would probably find that most of them went back to a non-noble and sometimes to a non-free ancestor. There is the typical case of the Malipiero, described by Gino Luzzatto. This family in the twelfth century gave doges to class-conscious Venice and claimed descent from the highest nobility, but it actually derived its name from a *magister Petrus*, a wealthy commoner of the tenth century. Likewise the Cancellieri of Milan and the Monedier of Le-Puy-en-Velay,

<sup>28</sup> Gioachino Volpe, *Medio Evo Italiano* (2d ed., Florence, 1928); Pier S. Leicht, *Operai artigiani e agricoltori in Italia dal secolo vi al xvi* (Milan, 1946); Frank M. Stenton, *The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw* (Lund, 1926); Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, “Las behetrías” and “Muchas páginas más sobre las behetrías,” *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, I and IV (1924, 1927); J. Massiet du Biest, “Le Chef cens et la demi liberté dans les villes du nord, x<sup>e</sup>–xii<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, ser. 4, VI (1927); Eberhard F. Otto, *Adel und Freiheit im deutschen Staat: Studien über nobiles und Ministerialien* (Berlin, 1937); Alfons Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (Jena, 1939)—but see the criticism of Charles E. Perrin, “La société rurale allemande du x<sup>e</sup> au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, ser. 4, XXIII (1945), who also uses some elements for comparison from the situation in France. The writer does not share the extreme optimism of Dopsch, in this as in other fields, but he inclines to greater optimism than some of Dopsch’s predecessors. Progress in the country between the tenth and the thirteenth century was certainly slower and more erratic than in the towns, and it is very easy to muster indications of immobility or even regression in one or another region. The gradual saturation of settlement areas and the increasing efficiency of the feudal and manorial organization often seem to eliminate the opportunities and to aggravate the burdens of dependent farmers. Yet greater production and better government caused the peasant to eat more and live in greater security until the commercial and urban revolution more radically transformed his way of life.

whose scions rode with the knights in the First Crusade, in the tenth century were busy making their fortune in the mint. Nay, a Roman pope of the early twelfth century descended from a family of Jewish businessmen who accepted baptism early in the eleventh century. Shortly after their conversion a political adversary lampooned them in verse ("Queen Money lends to them nobility and beauty; by intermarriage they gather around them the entire nobility of the town"), but Gregory VII, who according to some modern historians may have been one of their relatives, treasured their military and financial assistance. Much later, there were genealogists who conjured up for that family an imaginary ancestor who was a Roman senator. Outside Italy such careers must have been more rare, but we can hardly doubt that some merchants even in backward countries rose to higher standing. An English pamphlet of the early eleventh century states that "if a merchant throve so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own means, then was he henceforth of thegn-right worthy."<sup>29</sup>

The minor nobility as a whole also reached for greater power and prestige in the tenth century. The entire class of German and Italian *secundi milites* was to gain equality with the higher ranks of the nobility through a law of Conrad II in 1037; there is plentiful evidence that the emperor had only made legal a change which had taken place over the last fifty or sixty years. Nor was promotion from the higher to the highest ranks an uncommon fact. In Italy one Oldericus, for instance, is just a *vassus domini regis* in 910; in 913 he is *vassus et missus*; in 915 he is *comes et marchio sacri palatii*; in 918 he is *marchio et missus domini imperatoris*. In France still more spectacular careers are described in a recent monograph by Dhondt. In an epoch of constant disturbances and frequent changes of government such as occurred in the tenth century it was easy for an enterprising man to make a name for himself. Desimoni pointed out long ago that none of the marquesses of the late tenth century in Italy descended from high Carolingian officers; the great majority of the German and French high nobility was likewise unrelated to the great families of the Carolingian period. In

<sup>29</sup> Etienne Sabbe, "Quelques types de marchands des ix<sup>e</sup> et x<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XIII (1934); Alessandro Visconti, "Note per la storia della società milanese nei secoli x e xi," *Archivio storico lombardo*, LXI (1934); Pietro Vaccari, "Classi e movimenti di classi in Pavia nell' xi secolo," *Bollettino della Società pavese di storia patria*, n.s. I (1946); Gino Luzzatto, "Les Activités économiques du patriciat vénitien," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, IX (1937); R. S. Lopez, "Aux Origines du capitalisme génois," *ibid.*; Arrigo Solmi, *L'Amministrazione finanziaria del Regno Italico* (Pavia, 1932); Lucien Febvre, J. Lestocquoy, G. Espinas, "Fils de riches ou nouveaux riches?" *Annales (Economie-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, I (1946); Renée Doehaerd, "Ce qu'on vendait et comment on le vendait dans le bassin parisien," *ibid.*, II (1947); R. S. Lopez, "A propos d'une virgule," *Revue historique*, CXCVIII (1947), with the bibliography concerning the Pierleoni family. Some scholars have even maintained that both Gregory VI and Gregory VII were related to that family; see lastly Giovanni B. Picotti, Raffaello Morghen, "Ancora una parola su certe questioni gregoriane," *Archivio della Deputazione romana di storia patria*, LXIX (1946).

fact, even the royal title in the tenth century in France, Italy, and Germany ceased to be a hereditary right and was bestowed upon the most daring or the most unobtrusive. In this respect we may affirm that the opportunities of the tenth century were unmatched at later periods.<sup>30</sup>

At this point one might object that in our current terminology "renaissance" refers to intellectual more than to political, social, and economic developments, and that the writers, artists, and scholars of the Ottonian renaissance in Germany and elsewhere are not even as distinguished as those of the Carolingian renaissance. This we cannot deny. We have an entirely different outlook, however, if we think in terms of masses rather than of elites, and if we consider prospects for the future rather than immediate achievements. No tenth-century philosopher in Catholic Europe was as great as Scotus Erigena (although there were great philosophers outside Europe), but Scotus Erigena worked in an ivory tower. In the tenth century there is the twin fountainhead of popular religious and philosophical thought expressing itself in the church reform movement, which timidly began at Cluny and Montecassino, and in the heresies which spread underground from the East to France and Italy.<sup>31</sup> Again, Charlemagne's Palatine School and the episcopal schools of the Carolingian period were fine places for the training of the upper class; but in the tenth century the ecclesiastic teachers trained an increasing number of lay commoners, and there were lay wandering teachers in Italy and France. When Wipo states—in the eleventh century, it is true, but the increasing number of autograph signatures of laymen in Italian charters of the tenth century shows that his statement to some extent also applied to an earlier period—that "all children in Italy go to school, and only in Germany do we regard it useless or improper to teach a child unless he is to undertake an ecclesiastic career," he discloses the germs of a greater renaissance than the efforts of any isolated scholar or artist could possibly promote.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Jean Dhondt, *Etude sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France* (Bruges, 1948); and see the bibliography above, n. 28. Information must be sought chiefly in monographs on specific families or fiefs—far too numerous for listing. Silvio Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa da Berengario a Arduino* (Turin, 1904) is still the best general work for Italy and it includes many references to Germany.

<sup>31</sup> Bibliography in Augustin Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, I (Louvain, 1924); Guy de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien des origines au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1935); Antonino de Stefano, "Le eresie popolari del Medio Evo" in *Questioni di storia medievale*, ed. Ettore Rota (Milan, 1946). It is true that the first cases of heresy mentioned in the sources go back respectively to about 1000 (Liutard, bishopric of Châlons) and 1025 (Gandulf, bishopric of Cambrai; probably an Italian by birth), but the emergence of dangerous heretics at fairly distant places indicates an earlier propagation of underground heresy. Moreover there are strong indications of links to earlier popular heresies of the Byzantine territory, on which see Dmitri Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (New York, 1949); Henri Grégoire, "Précisions géographiques et chronologiques sur les Pauliciens," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, Lettres, ser. 5, XXXIII (1947).

<sup>32</sup> Bibliography in Gustav Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter* (Paderborn, 1926); Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, IV and V (Lille, 1940); Ugo

The renaissance of the tenth century is not an improper term in the intellectual field if we consider embryos as well as hatched young. "Many of the works which were to have a durable success in the [later] Middle Ages . . . go back to the obscure period which followed the Carolingian blossoming. . . . They were not created in one day, but they presuppose a slow and continuous elaboration, a period of incubation which eventually saw the emergence of some works that were to endure, while others, which were mediocre, were to be forgotten."<sup>33</sup> These words of De Ghellinck refer only to the Latin literature of the tenth century, but they could be repeated for many other intellectual activities—first of all, for Romance literature, of which the tenth-century fragment of *Eulalie* is probably the earliest extant specimen. Likewise, the "white robe of churches" which according to the chronicler Raoul Glaber reclothed the world after the year 1000 must have been woven partly of earlier yarns. The artists of the Carolingian renaissance, who imitated the classic models without understanding them fully, could hardly have supplied the original patterns which made the early Romanesque tissue.<sup>34</sup> Again, the glorious revival of Roman law in the eleventh and twelfth centuries would be inexplicable without the obscure work of the schools of the tenth century—those schools to which we owe the glosses of Turin and Pistoia, several compilations of canon law where Roman sources are used, and several manuals which are no longer extant, but which must have been the sources of the extant *Exceptiones legum Romanarum*.<sup>35</sup> Nor would the progress of medical science in the eleventh and twelfth centuries be explicable without the obscure work of the practitioners of Salerno whose "great practical experience owing to natural talent" was well known in France as early as the tenth century. More often than not these physicians, lawyers, and artists were so humble that their names have not come down to us, but they were the bricklayers who laid the foundations upon which great architects were to build.<sup>36</sup>

---

Gualazzini, *Ricerche sulle scuole preuniversitarie nel medioevo* (Milan, 1943); Antonio Viscardi, "La cultura nell'Alto Medioevo," in *Questioni di storia medievale*.

<sup>33</sup> Joseph de Ghellinck, *Littérature latine au moyen âge* (Louvain, 1939), II, 7 ff.

<sup>34</sup> See above all José Puig y Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman* (Paris, 1928) and *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic* (Barcelona, 1930); also Pierre Francastel, *L'Humanisme roman* (Strasbourg and Rodez, 1942), with bibliography.

<sup>35</sup> Carlo Guido Mor, "Questioni preliminari per lo studio delle *Exceptiones Petri*," *Studi in memoria di Aldo Albertoni*, I (Padua, 1935) and "La recezione del diritto romano nelle collezioni canoniche dei secoli ix–xi," *Acta Congressus iuridici internationalis*, II (Rome, 1935); Enrico Besta, *Storia del diritto italiano, Fonti: Legislazione e scienza giuridica*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1923–25); further bibliography in Luigi Prosdocimi, "La formazione dell'unità giuridica medievale," in *Questioni di storia medievale*.

<sup>36</sup> Paul O. Kristeller, "The School of Salerno," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XVII (1945), with bibliography.

A more serious objection against the use of the term "renaissance" for the tenth century may come from the fact that the extant records of the eighth and ninth centuries are extremely scant and far between. Since documentary evidence grows more abundant during the tenth century we are apt to regard as new some trends and institutions which had begun long before or had never ceased to be. While we cannot fill the blank pages in the record of the early Middle Ages, we must not ignore their existence and disregard the possibility of one or another institution in early medieval times on the sole ground that we find no mention of it. Inasmuch as sharp turns are rare in history and as every age forever melts into another, we ought to expect that whatever was born—or reborn—in the tenth century sprouted from seeds deeply imbedded in earlier soil. But this assumption should not lead us to deny the unavoidable passing of things. Whenever we are able to compare similar series of documents for the eighth or ninth century and for the tenth—for instance, so far as private Lombard charters are concerned—we notice a contrast. What had been a small seed now becomes a youthful but already budding tree.

Let us salute the renaissance of the tenth century with the enchanting refrain of a tenth-century poem, which uses a language halfway between Latin and vernacular and a meter halfway between old and new:

*L'alba part umet mar atra sol  
Poy pasa bigil mira clar tenebras.*

The dawn over the dark sea draws on the sun. She passes over the bill.  
See, the darkness is clearing!

*Yale University*



# Some Demagogues in American History

REINHARD H. LUTHIN

EVER since the late eighteenth century and particularly since the Jacksonian era, American political history has been colored in part by the campaign opportunism of the "demagogue," the professional "man of the people." With considerable histrionic variety and always noisily, he has sought to whip up and intensify the emotions, the prejudices and the passions, of the voting public. And not infrequently his tactics have won out over his more sedate rivals in the political arena.

Although there have been a number of studies of individual demagogues and their activities, the term "demagogue" has rarely been defined historically.<sup>1</sup> The tendency to hurl the derogatory epithet indiscriminately at political opponents has perhaps led to confusion as to just what it is that constitutes a demagogue. A historical summing-up of some of America's more influential mob-masters may serve to clarify the meaning of demagoguery and its significance in United States history.

In Britain's thirteen American colonies, gentlemen of birth, wealth, and education, not the "lower orders," monopolized elective offices. In all the colonies the franchise was restricted to those who held property in one form or another.<sup>2</sup> Occupancy of a government office was a prerogative of the "upper" classes, not a paying job to be sought by flattering the voters. Non-voting American subjects of the British king might well have found an accurate description of their status in the lines:

<sup>1</sup> For studies of demagogues and demagoguery, see Francis P. Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge, La., 1944); C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1938); Joseph F. Dinneen, *The Purple Shamrock: The Hon. James Michael Curley of Boston* (New York, 1949); John Bright, *Hizzoner Big Bill Thompson: An Idyll of Chicago* (New York, 1930); Allan A. Michie and Frank Rhylick, *Dixie Demagogues* (New York, 1939); Glen Douthit, "The Governorship of Huey P. Long," M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1947; Herbert Gambrell, "James Stephen Hogg: Statesman or Demagogue?" *Southwest Review*, XIII (Spring, 1928), 338-66; Daniel M. Robison, "From Tillman to Long: Some Striking Leaders of the Rural South," *Journal of Southern History*, III (August, 1937), 289-310; Gerald W. Johnson, "Live Demagogue or Dead Gentleman?" *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XII (January, 1936), 1-14; Wallace Stegner, "Pattern for Demagogues," *Pacific Spectator*, II (Autumn, 1948), 389-411; Richard H. Rovere, "Vito Marcantonio: Machine Politician, New Style," *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1944, pp. 391-98.

<sup>2</sup> Cortlandt F. Bishop, *History of Elections in the American Colonies* (New York, 1893), pp. 69-90. The aristocratic nature of colonial elections is illustrated in Robert Munford's play, *The Candidates*; or, *The Humors of a Virginia Election*, written in 1770. See Jay B. Hubbell and Douglass Adair, "Robert Munford's *The Candidates*," *William and Mary Quarterly*, V (April, 1948), 217-57.

God bless the squire and his relations  
And keep us all in our proper stations.

In 1776, as the war against England raged, Pennsylvania alone among all the newly proclaimed states adopted a democratic constitution which extended the voting privilege to males without property.<sup>3</sup> Thus was the door opened for the entrance of the demagogue upon the political stage. In the Keystone State, with its liberal franchise, was born one of the earliest schools of American demagoguery—the Antifederalist “captains of the people.”

Dissatisfaction with the George Washington–John Adams Federalist policies produced loquacious, spellbinding office seekers who placed their own interests above principle. Spurred on by events in Revolutionary France, there appeared during the 1790’s numerous “democratic societies,” in which leaders plotted to defeat the Federalists and to direct public opinion. In their ranks were included, besides idealistic democrats, leaders as selfishly motivated as the “well-born” Federalist foes.<sup>4</sup> Conspicuous among the self-seeking Antifederalists was a Philadelphia physician, Dr. Michael Leib, who had aided in organizing the German Republican Society.

Together with his Apollo-like figure, Dr. Leib’s talents as orator and manipulator of party caucuses carried him far. Selfish and ambitious, he had a spitfire eloquence that “produced effect rather by the velocity of his missiles than the weight of his metal.”<sup>5</sup> Despite his boisterous concern for the humble citizens, Leib was privately not one himself. He lived luxuriously, powdered his hair, wore ultrafashionable dress, and sprayed himself with perfume, just like the hated Federalists. He nevertheless convinced the humble ones that he was one of them—and landed in the United States Senate. Of all the American states, only Pennsylvania, with its democratic suffrage, could have produced a Leib in the post-Revolutionary generation.<sup>6</sup>

During the first quarter of the new nineteenth century the democratization of the franchise went on apace. Manhood suffrage, with the property qualifications removed, was the new order in state after state. Between 1810 and 1821 six new western states entered the Union with constitutions providing for universal white manhood suffrage or a close approximation; and

<sup>3</sup> J. Paul Selsam, *The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 180, 188–89; Paul L. Ford, “The Adoption of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776,” *Political Science Quarterly*, X (September, 1895), 454.

<sup>4</sup> Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790–1800* (New York, 1942), pp. x, 210–11.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond Walters, Jr., *Alexander James Dallas* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 120–21.

<sup>6</sup> Hugh Henry Brackenridge, in his satire, *Modern Chivalry*, first published in 1792, criticized the “common” man’s preference for crude, uneducated candidates in Pennsylvania. See Claude M. Newlin, *The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge* (Princeton, 1932), pp. 86, 96 n., 112 ff., 254.

four of the older states substantially dropped property qualifications. Not without a fight, however, did the cultivated classes yield. At the New York state constitutional convention in 1821 General J. R. Van Rensselaer, a Tory delegate, fumed against enfranchising the multitude: "That kind of population, thus formed and condensed, always has been, and ever will be, under the control and influence of the artful, the cunning, the aspiring, and ambitious demagogue."<sup>7</sup> Chancellor James Kent, another delegate, supported Van Rensselaer. But property qualifications for voting were removed, except for Negroes. For years Kent remained unconverted. He wrote that the danger in universal suffrage lay in "active, ambitious, reckless, and unprincipled demagogues, combining, controlling, and abusing the popular voice for their own selfish purposes."<sup>8</sup> The use of "demagogue" as a term of vituperation was well under way.

While the more dismal events feared by Van Rensselaer and Kent happily did not come to pass entirely, in their own Empire State the broadened franchise, adopted in 1821, provided vote-hungry aspirants with opportunity to incite the newly enfranchised multitude with frivolous, inane issues. The common man was stirring in the 1820's and willing to be stirred further. The field was steadily ripening for the demagogue.

In Rochester, for example, under the skilled direction of Thurlow Weed a political party was organized on the basis of opposition to the Masonic fraternal order.<sup>9</sup> The Masons were considered "aristocratic" and therefore ideal subjects for the semi-hysterical antagonism unleashed against them by Weed and other electioneering managers, one example of whose tactics may be found in the case of William Morgan.

In 1826 Morgan, an obscure mechanic, supposedly was writing a book, *Illustrations of Masonry*, in which he planned to expose the "secrets" of that fraternal group. Suddenly Morgan disappeared from Canandaigua, in up-state New York, never to be seen again—all of which inspired rumors that Masons had murdered him.<sup>10</sup> Weed maneuvered to have numerous committees of citizens appointed to search for the missing Morgan and his alleged murderers. When, during the campaign of 1827, a corpse was dragged from Lake Ontario, Weed rushed dramatically to the scene, where he declared, so the Masons charged, that the dead body was "a good enough Morgan until after the election."

<sup>7</sup> *Reports of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1821*, ed. Nathaniel H. Carter, et al. (Albany, 1821), p. 362.

<sup>8</sup> James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law* (Boston, 1867), I, 312 n.

<sup>9</sup> Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed: Wizard of the Lobby* (Boston, 1947), pp. 40 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Robert D. Burns, "The Abduction of William Morgan," Rochester Historical Society, *Publication Fund Series*, VI (1927), 219-30.

The Antimasons spread their extraordinary gospel from New York to other states by lectures, distribution of tracts, and the nomination of candidates.<sup>11</sup> Among the New Yorkers who rode to the legislature on Weed's Antimasonic wave were Millard Fillmore and William H. Seward.

Thus, from the 1820's onward aspiring office seekers learned to whip up issues that would appeal to the many. They learned also that a particular issue, to win success at the polls, must be presented in colorful phrases and spiced with personalized invective.

During the Jacksonian decade of the 1830's there emerged panderers to the poor and socially oppressed who, often on irrelevant issues, managed to fuse those underprivileged groups with their own personal voting units. Such strategy was evident in the national career of Andrew Jackson, who became a caterer to the many, the technician of mass leadership.

One competent historian concludes that, since Jackson was a planter aristocrat who believed in popular judgment, "it is unfair to dismiss him as a demagogue."<sup>12</sup> Old Hickory nevertheless set a pattern for the influential party chieftain who, by vigorous personality and noisy appeal to the crowd, made gross political capital by waging warfare against the affluent minority—a prime characteristic of the demagogue. His White House predecessors had seemed incapable of playing the game of the populace. Jackson's fiery stump speakers, in fighting for his re-election in 1832, personally reached the voters, face to face, in villages and cornfields and on city street corners and in ward clubhouses, haranguing them against the Bank of the United States and other vested groups, but offering nothing constructive to take the Bank's place. James Gordon Bennett of the New York *Herald*, himself a Democrat, snorted in disgust: "This is an Age of Steam and Humbug."<sup>13</sup> Certain it is that the Jacksonian concept spawned its share of demagogues—Franklin E. Plummer, Richard Mentor Johnson, and Ely Moore, among others.

A New Englander who had settled in Mississippi, Franklin E. Plummer taught school, then entered politics, to which he brought entertaining talk and vocal concern for the common folk. He rode a tidal wave of "wool hat" adulation which repeatedly returned him to Congress from a piney-woods district on the platform "Plummer for the people and the people for Plummer!"<sup>14</sup> A contemporary gave his estimate: "As a cross-road and

<sup>11</sup> George H. Blakeslee, "The History of the Anti-Masonic Party," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1903; Charles McCarthy, "The Antimasonic Party . . . 1827-1840," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902* (Washington, 1903), I, 365-574.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1948), p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in the *American Mercury*, XIX (April, 1930), 450.

<sup>14</sup> Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* (Madison, 1907), II, 437.

stump orator unequalled—as a bush-whacker and log-cabin electioneer unrivalled.”<sup>15</sup> Once, while canvassing his district with his competitor, the latter kissed the daughter of a constituent. Plummer went one better: he laid her small brother across his lap, and picked off chiggers. The mother never forgot the thoughtful congressman.<sup>16</sup> In Congress during 1834 Plummer launched into a tirade against conservative banking and currency systems and monopolies; he eulogized the “Workingman’s” party of the East, of whom he considered himself the Mississippi apostle.<sup>17</sup>

But Plummer, erstwhile friend of farmers and laborers, went over to the Natchez bankers, who in 1835 invited him to town, tendered him banquets, “loaned” him money, and persuaded him to run for United States senator. In a stylish barouche and accompanied by a liveried servant, he started his campaign, no longer a demagogue. His surrender to the interests and display of luxury alienated his piney-woods disciples, who turned against him, and he was defeated.

Another Jacksonian mob-master who gave lip service to the eastern “Workingman’s” party was a Kentuckian, Richard Mentor Johnson, who, back in 1812, had left his seat in Congress to go as a colonel to war against the British. In the battle of the Thames he shot an Indian chief alleged to be Tecumseh. On his return home, Colonel Johnson was presented with a sword, lauded as Tecumseh’s killer, and re-elected to Congress. In the House he held forth on the theme “Vox Populi is Vox Dei”—the lowly are the only group of consequence. In 1819 he was elevated to the Senate. He became Jackson’s satellite in the President’s war on the Bank. The “Workingman’s” party took him up as its presidential candidate. “Rumsey, dumpsey, who killed Tecumsey?” became a preconvention battle cry.<sup>18</sup> At Baltimore in 1834 there was presented a play, *Tecumseh, or the Battle of the Thames*, in which were used the pistol “with which the hero [Johnson] slew his savage foe,” the “identical dress worn by Tecumseh at the time of his death,” and “the identical flag captured by the Colonel from the British”—all borrowed from the War Department.<sup>19</sup> After seeing the play, Johnson confided, “I have more friends than ever by hundreds.”<sup>20</sup>

Johnson was selected by Andrew Jackson to be Martin Van Buren’s running-mate on the 1836 national ticket. Elected vice-president, Johnson

<sup>15</sup> J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State* (Jackson, Miss., 1880), pp. 411–12.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 425–27.

<sup>17</sup> *Register of Debates in Congress*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 4819 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Leland W. Meyer, *The Life and Times of Colonel Richard Mentor Johnson* (New York, 1932), chaps. 1–vi; Bernard Mayo, “The Man Who Killed Tecumseh,” *American Mercury*, XIX (April, 1930), 446 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Niles Register*, Feb. 1, 1834.

<sup>20</sup> Meyer, p. 402.



registered an unimpressive record. His liberalism disappeared before an obsession for office. His private life proved so embarrassing that the Democrats declined to renominate him in 1840. Some states, however, named him and he took to the stump. In Ohio he opened his shirt to show his scars of war. He boasted: "I was born in a cane-brake and cradled in a sap trough."<sup>21</sup> He failed of re-election.

An ardent supporter of "Old Tecumsey" Johnson in the "Workingman's" party was Ely Moore, Jacksonian labor spellbinder of New York City. Rising from printer to owner of a hay-weighing monopoly, the eloquent, well-dressed, cane-carrying Moore had married into a prosperous family with Tammany Hall connections. He joined the Typographical Association of New York, from which he stepped up to the presidency of the General Trades' Union. He had become, by 1833, head of the National Trades Union and editor of its organ, which he devoted to his own interests. He lined up behind Jackson by assailing the Bank in an address to "mechanics and workingmen," and later supported Johnson for President.<sup>22</sup>

Moore won a seat in Congress on the Jacksonian ticket in 1834, as an enemy of monopoly—although he still owned his hay-weighing monopoly. His reputation as labor spokesman, however, was tarnished when, as a member of the state prison commission, he upheld the lease of convict labor to private business and accused mechanics of being "interested witnesses." Moore was denounced as an opportunist, and other evidences appeared to suggest that his liberalism was more apparent than real. He managed, however, to be returned to Congress in 1836. Two years later his disciples drifted away. "Five Thousand Workingmen" wrote to the New York *Evening Star*, denouncing Moore for "transforming our little means and our bread into windy promises" and implored: "Away with the trumpet tones and the magical intellect of idle demagogues who call themselves workingmen, but never lifted a hammer or made a shoe string."<sup>23</sup> When Moore was finally defeated in 1838, he accepted the federal plum of surveyor of the port of New York.

In New York, as in other northern cities, the Jacksonites, whose local organization was Tammany Hall, made effective use of religious and racial appeals, a practice well demonstrated in Irish-populated wards.

<sup>21</sup> Louisville *Journal*, Oct. 14, 1840.

<sup>22</sup> Walter E. Hugins, "Ely Moore: The Case History of a Jacksonian Labor Leader," M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1947, pp. 1-40, 42-65. Hugins has published part of his researches in the *Political Science Quarterly*, LXV (March, 1950), 105-25.

<sup>23</sup> New York *Evening Star*, Nov. 3, 1838. Schlesinger considers Moore an important expounder of the "pro-labor" tradition of Jacksonian democracy. See Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945), pp. 192-93.

In 1835 Francis Lieber deplored the electioneering bids addressed to the "true-born sons of Ireland."<sup>24</sup> A partisan critical satire written in 1839 under the pseudonym, "Blarney O'Democrat," portrayed one demagogue who, before the Celtic voters, regretted that he had not been christened "Patrick" and maintained that all good things had come from the Emerald Isle. Christopher Columbus was really an Irishman! So, too, was George Washington:

And hence America, ye ken,  
Of right belongs to Irishmen!  
And Washington, I've understood,  
Was somewhat touch'd with Irish blood.<sup>25</sup>

So much for the particular type of Jacksonian electioneering which did, indeed, set a pattern for future swayers of the crowd.

If liberal Jacksonianism spawned a school of demagogues, so, too, did the opposition, the conservative self-styled "Whigs."

In time the Whigs reflected on the errors of their campaigning ways. Their defense of the Bank and aloofness from the many had spelled only continuous defeat. "The more we fight Jacksonism with our present weapons," bemoaned Thurlow Weed, now a Whig chieftain, "*the more it wont die.*"<sup>26</sup> A pro-Bank platform had proved disastrous at the polls.<sup>27</sup> Boston's Whig organ, the *Atlas*, recommended: "Those who would have votes must descend into the forum and take the voters by the hand."<sup>28</sup> By 1840 the Whigs were ready to try their talents at arousing the populace.

When President Van Buren came up for re-election in 1840 the Democrats ruefully saw their own system of demagoguery improved upon. Whigs transformed their presidential standard-bearer, General William Henry Harrison, into a humble dweller in a log cabin who drank the poor man's drink, hard cider. They waged a campaign that comprised a gallimaufry of processions, songs, emblems, slang, cider barrels, miniature log cabins, coon-skin caps, and meaningless, long-winded oratory—all in lieu of the discussion of issues. Daniel Webster, high priest of ultraconservative Massachusetts Whiggery, informed audiences on the stump: "I have been in his [Harrison's] log cabin. He lives in it still. . . . The string of his latch is not pulled in."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Francis Lieber, *The Stranger in America* (London, 1835), II, 41. By 1832 the "Irish" vote was safely Democratic. See Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York, 1949), p. 166.

<sup>25</sup> Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, 1939), p. 162.

<sup>26</sup> Weed to Granger, Nov. 23, 1834, Francis Granger Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>27</sup> *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1883), pp. 371-72, 424, 431.

<sup>28</sup> Boston *Atlas*, quoted in Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson*, p. 288.

<sup>29</sup> *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (National ed., Boston, 1903), XIII, 141; III, 30.

In his Saratoga speech the God-like Daniel apologized that the house of his birth had not been made of logs. In another oration he threatened to strike any man who called him an aristocrat.<sup>30</sup> William H. Seward, on the hustings for Harrison and his own re-election as governor of New York, demonstrated that he was a man of the people by traveling in an old green-painted wagon and riding in rowboats even when steam ferries were available.<sup>31</sup>

The most crowd-compelling Whigs, however, operated on the western frontier. Tom Corwin of Ohio, known as the "Wagon Boy" because he had driven a supply train for General Harrison in the War of 1812, spoke effortlessly the language of the frontiersman, provoking their laughter and sending forth seemingly endless oratory, usually on extraneous subjects. As a circuit-riding lawyer he spent hours every night in smoke-filled taverns listening to and storing his memory with anecdotes which he could use on the stump.<sup>32</sup> One deaf listener commented of Corwin: "I can't hear a word he's sayin'; but great Jackson, don't he do the motions splendid!"<sup>33</sup>

Because Corwin was "emphatically a man of the people," the Whigs chose him as candidate for governor of Ohio in a convention at Columbus to which flocked hundreds of frontiersmen garbed in buckskin and coonskin caps suggestive of Daniel Boone. In May, 1840, Corwin spoke for himself and Harrison at Wilmington before an audience of 10,000, surrounded by log cabins, huge canoes, and cider barrels—the first of his numerous three-hour marathon talks. For weeks farmers and backwoodsmen came on foot, horseback, and in oxcarts to hear him praise God, the Bible, and the Whigs, and damn the Democrats. They stood in pelting rain or under burning sun, oblivious to everything except their haranguing Wagon Boy in action. Corwin was elected governor and aided in carrying the Buckeye State for Harrison. His followers continued to chant:

Success to you, Tom Corwin!  
Tom Corwin, our true hearts love you!  
Ohio has no nobler son,  
In worth there's none above you.  
So let us cheer the Wagon Boy,  
Who drove that noble team, wo-hoy!<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York, 1919), p. 411.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414.

<sup>32</sup> Daryl Pendergraft, "The Public Career of Thomas Corwin," Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1943, I, 1-48; J. Jeffery Auer, "Tom Corwin: 'King of the Stump,'" *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXX (February, 1944), 47 ff.

<sup>33</sup> William C. Roberts, *The Leading Orators of Twenty-Five Campaigns* (New York, 1884), p. 104.

<sup>34</sup> Pendergraft, p. 250.

Behind all the demagoguery and showmanship of 1840, what were the real issues? "Hard times," an aftermath of the panic of 1837, to be sure. But the Whig orators and editors made no attempt to discuss the policy of the respective candidates or the principles of government. With their cider barrels and coonskin caps and log cabins and noise they overrode all issues. It was enough for Whigs to see that by such strategy they could win, and they accepted the conditions that they found and successfully exploited them. But President Harrison died one month after his inauguration in 1841, and when, in 1844, the Whigs tried to repeat their log-cabin-and-cider act with Henry Clay as their presidential candidate, their strategy was less successful. Weed wrote disappointedly, "The songs don't warm up the masses as they did in '40."<sup>35</sup>

In 1848 the Whigs abandoned Clay as a presidential standard-bearer and nominated General Zachary Taylor, Mexican War hero. As one erstwhile Clay supporter wrote in May of that year: "Mr. Clay is *too pure a patriot* to win in these *demagogueing* times. We must fix up a little 'humbugging' with our glorious Whig creed, before we can expect a victory—and Gen Taylor's *military fame* is about the best we can make use of at present."<sup>36</sup> Because of a Democratic split the Whigs elected Taylor—only to have him die after one year in office.

Again in 1852 the Whigs ran a war hero for President—this time General Winfield Scott. Both parties exploited race and religion. Democrats accused Scott of having hanged fifteen Germans and shot twenty-five Irishmen in the army during the Mexican War.<sup>37</sup> Scott himself praised the "rich brogue of the Irish" and the German accent.<sup>38</sup> He attended Catholic mass on a Sunday morning and Protestant services in the evening.

Such tactics, however, proved of no avail. Scott was thoroughly drubbed by the Democrat Franklin Pierce in the last presidential contest which the Whigs waged as a national party.<sup>39</sup> Sectionalism and other factors were soon to give rise to the Republican party.

With the emergence of Republicanism during the 1850's the "antislavery" school of demagogues came to the fore.

Decades after the Civil War David R. Locke, who, as an antislavery

<sup>35</sup> Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, p. 135.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The Life of Henry Clay* (Boston, 1937), p. 391.

<sup>37</sup> Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, p. 192.

<sup>38</sup> James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York, 1893), I, 276.

<sup>39</sup> For the decline of Whiggery see Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, "The Seward-Fillmore Feud and the Disruption of the Whig Party," *New York History*, XXIV (July, 1943), 335-57.

journalist in Ohio, had known his ante-bellum politics, published posthumously *The Demagogue*,<sup>40</sup> a political novel which fictionized a particular type of northern public man who exploited the sectional controversy.

Locke's main character in *The Demagogue* was a smart, conscienceless rogue of an Ohio newspaperman, Caleb Mason, who learned electioneering technique by watching a visiting Pennsylvania congressman, Rainey, in action. To rural audiences Rainey praised farmers as "that honored class who are the foundation of national greatness," and told humorous stories, as he studied them "as a physician watched a patient while administering some powerful drug." Rainey confided to Mason: "I'm getting too old . . . to be knocking around in country neighborhoods and tickling the ears of a lot of wooden-headed farmers and country jakes with a pack of worn-out yarns. . . . You young fellows must take up the burden." And so Mason studied law, married into an influential Democratic family, and was elected to the legislature and then to Congress as a Democrat. On the stump he recited tales of American Revolution battles, eulogized the "common flag" and "our glorious country," charged that "town aristocrats" opposed him because he was a "son of the people," and paid tribute to the sturdy settlers.

In 1860 Congressman Mason, watching hawk-like the antislavery agitation, forsook the Democrats and became a Republican. Although he had no deeply rooted convictions about Negro slavery, he denounced the slave power. The author of *The Demagogue* wrote of his character Mason: "His espousal of the anti-slavery cause was as purely a matter of calculation as the buying of a horse or a farm." And he added: "The anti-slavery struggle produced a large crop of this kind of statesman."

If Caleb Mason was only Locke's fictional antislavery demagogue, real ones like him thrived. Congressman James H. Lane, Democrat of Indiana, after voting for the "proslavery" Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, rushed to Kansas Territory for greener political pastures. When the Democratic rallies which he organized there were poorly attended, Lane went over to the Republican party. Soon he was assailing "all Democrats" as "protectors of Slaveocracy." He raised a force, "Lane's Army of the North," and with it committed depredations on southern strongholds in Kansas as atrocious as those perpetrated by proslavery "border ruffians."<sup>41</sup>

In public Lane, a born actor, played a part, mingling with western frontiersmen or haranguing against the South and collecting funds in New

<sup>40</sup> (Boston, 1891). For Locke, see bibliography in *DAB*.

<sup>41</sup> Wendell H. Stephenson, "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, III (1930), 39-80; W. G. Clugston, *Rascals in Democracy* (New York, 1940), pp. 63-66. See also John Speer, *Life of Gen. James H. Lane* (Garden City, Kansas, 1896).

England, presumably for the fight against slavery in Kansas. In that territory he wore a hair-covered cowhide vest, although in Boston he appeared in black broadcloth suit and white cravat. Among westerners he was a "Hoosier"; with southerners he was a "Kentuckian"; on New England tours he told of his mother, who had been a "Connecticut schoolmarm." At Methodist revival meetings Lane publicly had himself converted time and again in Methodist-populated Kansas. He mispronounced words to curry favor with frontiersmen.<sup>42</sup> "His ability to humbug a crowd," concludes Wendell H. Stephenson, "approached hypnotism." After Kansas became a state in 1861, Lane had himself elected United States senator. With much justification his foes labeled him "an infamous demagogue."

Another leader who opportunistically boarded the antislavery bandwagon was Nathaniel Prentiss Banks. Starting as "bobbin boy" in a Waltham, Massachusetts, mill, Banks followed a chameleon-like political career, continually changing his color to suit the Bay State's public climate. Invariably he flitted from one party or cause to another, ever ready to drop one issue and adopt the one which ephemerally excited the voters. He began as a temperance Whig in 1838 and proved loquacious on the strong-drink evil. The Democrats adopted him. When antislavery beckoned in the late 1840's he affiliated with the "Free Soilers," although he had few notions about the Negro question. Arraying the poor of the Waltham district against the aristocratic classes, Banks was elected to Congress.<sup>43</sup>

By 1853 anti-Catholicism overtook Massachusetts—and accordingly Banks forgot about his Irish supporters and joined the Know-Nothings. After being returned to Congress with the nativists' backing, he turned down their ideas and, once more courting the Irish, announced that he had "no enmity towards the foreigners." When antislavery became popular again in 1855, the Bobbin Boy joined the Republicans, the while catering to both Know-Nothing and Irish elements. In 1856 he was chosen Speaker of Congress by a Republican-Know-Nothing coalition—and then became friendly toward the South.<sup>44</sup> Two years later Banks combined antislavery, Know-Nothing, and Irish groups to have himself elected governor of Massachusetts. In his quest for labor votes he had been "anti-corporation" but when his term in the Boston state house ended, he accepted a lucrative position with the Illinois

<sup>42</sup> Clugston, pp. 67-68; Jacob Stringfellow, "Jim Lane," *Lippincott's Magazine*, V (March, 1870), 266 ff.

<sup>43</sup> Fred Harvey Harrington, "Nathaniel Prentiss Banks: A Study in Anti-Slavery Politics," *New England Quarterly*, IX (December, 1936), 626-35. An excellent study of Banks is Harrington's *Fighting Politician: Major General N. P. Banks* (Philadelphia, 1948).

<sup>44</sup> Ulrich B. Phillips, ed., *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb*, in *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn. for 1911* (Washington, 1913), II, 460.



Central Railroad. Banks's biographer calls him a "popular party spellbinder" with a "record of shifting stands and exploitation of anti-slavery feeling for personal gain."<sup>45</sup>

Any review of Republican antislavery demagogues should include Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, often viewed as a "leveller" or "egalitarian." Entering politics as an Antimason, he vowed that he would fight on until there existed "no other question than Masonry and Anti-Masonry." In 1848 the Lancaster *Intelligencer*, his home-town paper, observed: "Mr. Stevens was an Anti-Mason, but when the ghost of Morgan had fulfilled its purposes, he turned *Native*."<sup>46</sup> Mixing antislavery with anti-Catholicism in that year, he was elected to Congress as a Whig. He attended congressional sessions irregularly, occupying himself more with his law practice and iron business and watching for possible shifts in public excitement. Although posing as a friend of the humble, Stevens denied his support to western representatives who would give land to the landless by enactment of a homestead law; he did not want lands to be settled by what he called "paupers."<sup>47</sup>

After being defeated for re-election in 1852 Congressman Stevens joined the temperance movement as a vote-luring tactic—but only for a season. He returned to nativism and finally to antislavery. Several years later found him in Congress—this time as a Republican. One contemporary called Stevens an honest man "outside of politics."<sup>48</sup>

While antislavery spellbinders were doing much to arouse the North against the South, the South too had its flame-tongued agitators. The region below Mason and Dixon's line, almost completely rural and far from centers of news and entertainment, was susceptible to the stump antics and oratory of politicians.<sup>49</sup> In Jacksonian days Franklin E. Plummer had performed successfully in Mississippi. So, too, had Reuben Davis. Standing for district attorney in the Magnolia State in 1835, Davis was informed that his opponent was "a good fellow, tells a capital story, and plays the fiddle."<sup>50</sup> In retaliation, Davis emphasized that he was the "son of a godly Baptist preacher" and his wife a "most devout Methodist." Davis also "set up" the drinks in a nearby

<sup>45</sup> Harrington, "Nathaniel Prentiss Banks," pp. 626, 628.

<sup>46</sup> Richard N. Current, *Old Thad Stevens: A Study of Ambition* (Madison, 1942), p. 31. Among other studies of Stevens are: Thomas F. Woodley, *Great Leveller: The Life of Thaddeus Stevens* (New York, 1937); Elsie Singmaster, *I Speak for Thaddeus Stevens* (Boston, 1947); W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction* (New York, 1935), pp. 166, 191, 265-66.

<sup>47</sup> Current, pp. 91 ff.

<sup>48</sup> J. W. Binckley, "The Leader of the House," *Galaxy*, I (1866), 500.

<sup>49</sup> Avery Craven, "Coming of the War between the States: An Interpretation," *Jour. Southern Hist.*, II (1939).

<sup>50</sup> Reuben Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (Boston, 1891), p. 68.

tavern. He carried the district. By 1843 Bishop H. B. Whipple noted that illiteracy rendered the southern masses the "dupes" of designing politicians.<sup>51</sup> In 1849 W. R. W. Cobb, "the most successful vote-poller in the State of Alabama," made a triumphant canvass for Congress by rendering captivating songs, one of which was entitled, "Uncle Sam Is Rich Enough To Give Us All a Farm." As he sang, Cobb winked, first at one listener and then at another, punctuating his phrases by chewing with gusto a piece of onion and coarse "pone" bread. In Alabama, also, the aristocratic Mrs. Clement C. Clay, Jr., aided her husband's successful contest for a United State Senate seat by donning a plain cambric sunbonnet such as farmers' daughters wore.<sup>52</sup>

In the decade of the 1850's office seekers appealed to southern voters by utilizing the issue of white supremacy—often insincerely—as they dramatically exploited the excitement over abolition. In 1851 the Union-minded Joel R. Poinsett of South Carolina, who had served in Van Buren's cabinet and held the diplomatic mission to Mexico, deplored the "dangerous agitation, which originated and has been kept up by political Demagogues for their own sordid purposes."<sup>53</sup> And by 1856 the *Southern Literary Messenger* quoted the late Judge Abel P. Upshur: "The worst enemy of rational liberty is the demagogue. . . . He begins by flattering the people, and ends by betraying them."<sup>54</sup>

Among the effective proslavery stirrers of the popular southern mind were those loquacious spokesmen for the less prosperous white classes, Albert Gallatin Brown and Henry A. Wise.

Born of poverty-stricken parents in South Carolina, Albert Gallatin Brown was brought as a youth to the piney-woods region of Copiah County, Mississippi. He was elected as a Democrat to the state legislature, becoming an ardent follower of Franklin E. Plummer. Brown's biographer, James B. Ranck, states: "He was an apt pupil in the Plummer school . . . making a stronger appeal by catch phrases than by the solid reasons he may have offered."<sup>55</sup> Like Plummer, Brown championed the "small" non-slaveholding white farmers of the piney woods against the prosperous slaveholding Delta planters and Natchez bankers.<sup>56</sup> Since the "poor whites" were intent on protecting their superior social position over the Negroes,

<sup>51</sup> Lester B. Shippee, ed., *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844* (Minneapolis, 1937), p. 52.

<sup>52</sup> Mrs. Virginia Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties* (New York, 1905), pp. 21, 22.

<sup>53</sup> Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, 1940), p. 160.

<sup>54</sup> June, 1856, p. 410.

<sup>55</sup> James B. Ranck, *Albert Gallatin Brown, Radical Southern Nationalist* (New York, 1937), p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> Paul H. Buck, "The Poor Whites of the Ante-Bellum South," *AHR*, XXI (October, 1925), 42 ff.

they became the "prey of fire-eating demagogues" who courted their votes by preaching against emancipation of the slaves.<sup>57</sup> Professor Ranck declares of Brown: "He did not hesitate to play the demagogue. . . . He had discovered the potency of the plea against abolitionism." Elected governor of Mississippi, Brown was hailed as "the first orator of the Democracy." His sway over the multitude was explained in terms of his "control of human minds, wills and passions by his eloquence."<sup>58</sup> In one campaign he made 115 speeches and traveled 3,200 miles.<sup>59</sup>

Brown had himself elected to Congress and then persuaded the legislature to choose him United States senator. At Washington during the ante-bellum decade the proslavery master of Mississippi's masses ranted against abolitionists.<sup>60</sup> He made no effort to attract the big planters, who feared that conflict with the North would ruin them. The rabble-rousing proslavery peroration which Brown shot forth from the stump was typical of his talents: "The rich [in Mississippi] will flee the country. . . . Then the non-slaveholder will begin to see what his real fate is. The Negro will intrude into his presence—insist on being treated as an equal. . . . Then will commence a war of races." Clear-thinking men in Mississippi complained that the crowd-stirring senator was "arousing passion and prejudice, and undermining the loyalty of the Southern people to the Union."<sup>61</sup>

Another talented mob-master was Henry A. Wise of the Accomac County, Virginia, landed aristocracy. Wise had been sent to Congress as a Jacksonian Democrat in a campaign of "rancorous jibes and biting invective," becoming the "Accomac Orator."<sup>62</sup> In Congress John Quincy Adams noted "his tartness, his bitterness, his malignity, and his inconsistencies."<sup>63</sup> Wise broke with Old Hickory, espoused Whiggery, and stumped for Harrison in the phantasmagoria of 1840. In time he allied himself with President John Tyler.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Ranck, p. 25.

<sup>58</sup> Dunbar Rowland, "Political and Parliamentary Orators and Oratory of Mississippi," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IV (1901), 379, 382.

<sup>59</sup> Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York, 1947), I, 184.

<sup>60</sup> M. W. Cluskey, ed., *Speeches, Messages, and Other Writings of the Hon. Albert G. Brown* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 329-43; Cleo Hearon, "Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850," *Publications Mississippi Hist. Soc.*, XIV (1914), 33, 130-33, 169; Samuel P. McCutchen, "The Political Career of Albert Gallatin Brown," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930. Arthur C. Cole has emphasized the conciliatory views of the prosperous planters in his *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, 1913), pp. 71 ff., 124, 136, 179 ff., 342.

<sup>61</sup> Percy L. Rainwater, "The Presidential Canvass of 1860 in Mississippi," *Mississippi Law Journal*, V (August, 1933), 279-80, 280-81 (quote from Vicksburg *Whig*, Oct. 23, 1860).

<sup>62</sup> Edwin P. Adkins, "Henry A. Wise in Sectional Politics, 1830-1860," Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1948, pp. 5-39.

<sup>63</sup> Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1876), IX, 88; X, 478.

<sup>64</sup> Henry H. Simms, *The Rise of the Whigs in Virginia, 1824-1840* (Richmond, 1929), pp. 81-82, 151; Oscar D. Lambert, *Presidential Politics in the United States* (Durham, 1936), pp. 85, 93.

Throughout his jumps from party to party he remained a proslavery ultra. One Virginia onlooker described the Accomac Orator: "Reading the Book of Genesis, now a play by Shakespeare comes into his head, and straightway he indulges his audience with an act or two . . . his eyes rolling in a fine frenzy." Another called him "unsurpassed for fiery invective." Still another wrote of Wise: "He speaks excessively loud and twists his face into all kinds of shapes. The blood rushes to his face, and he has the appearance of a man who is strangling."<sup>65</sup>

On his return to Virginia after service as minister to Brazil, Wise—now once more a Democrat—was elected governor in 1855. In that campaign he ended his speech at Parkersburg with the exhortation: "Let us all work together as one man to lift the head of the Old Dominion, the mother of Presidents, our own beloved Virginia, from *the dust in which it grovels*"<sup>66</sup>—an oration which prompted one college student in the audience to write home: "I believe him to be one of the veriest demagogues."<sup>67</sup> Governor Wise, fiercely ambitious for high national office, sought to unite the slaveholding states under what he called "a bold man in place," which meant himself.<sup>68</sup> "The People adore him," reported one politician in 1856.<sup>69</sup> In the presidential contest of that year he stumped for the Democrat, James Buchanan, against the Republican standard-bearer, John C. Frémont, and shouted to a Richmond crowd: "Fremont is nothing . . . an adventurer, born illegitimately . . . a Frenchman's bastard."<sup>70</sup>

Late in 1859 Governor Wise seized the opportunity to further his presidential chances when John Brown led his raid on Harper's Ferry. Dramatically Wise visited Brown in his cell, gave public credence to absurd rumors of further northern invasions, deployed bodies of militia, temporarily suspended travel on railroad trains, and barred certain "Yankee" publications from the mails—in short, he whipped up southern feeling against the North.<sup>71</sup> The governor became a temporary idol. Songs were composed in his honor:

In Harper's Ferry there was an insurrection,  
John Brown thought the niggers would sustain him;

<sup>65</sup> Richmond *Whig*, Apr. 30, 1851; John H. Claiborne, *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia* (New York, 1904), p. 134; Clement Eaton, "Henry A. Wise, a Liberal of the Old South," *Jour. Southern Hist.*, VII (November, 1941), 482.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted in Mrs. Arthur G. Beach, "An Example of Political Oratory in 1855," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, XXXIX (October, 1930), 680.

<sup>67</sup> Henry M. Dawes, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 677.

<sup>68</sup> Clement Eaton, "Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Fire-Eaters of 1856," *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXI (March, 1935), 495.

<sup>69</sup> Robert Tyler to John Tyler, June 13, 1856, Tyler Family Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>70</sup> Allan Nevins, *Frémont* (New York, 1928), II, 508–509.

<sup>71</sup> Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York, 1950), II, 102, 158, 172.

But old Massa Wise put his spectacles on his eyes,  
And landed him in the happy land o' Canaan.<sup>72</sup>

There were those, however, who saw through Wise's motives—Democrats and Whigs in Virginia as well as Democrats in Indiana.<sup>73</sup>

Numerous other reckless proslavery "men of the people" performed successfully. Conspicuous was Louis T. Wigfall, chosen for the United States Senate from Texas in 1859—"perhaps the greatest orator of the South" who hypnotized his audiences "with the electrical passion that would blaze in his seamed and fierce face."<sup>74</sup> Georgia, too, contributed a slavery-defending spokesman for the little man in Joseph E. Brown, who hailed from the mountainous country remote from the centers of aristocracy and wealth. Brown was elected governor of the Empire State of the South in 1857 and started a successful career by his "judicious use of his own personality."<sup>75</sup> Then there was former Congressman William L. Yancey of Alabama, "Orator of Secession," whose magic gift of speech before judges and juries brought invitations from political and agricultural gatherings, where he held forth on the wrongs inflicted on the South by the North. "The greatest orator I ever heard," commented one mesmerized listener. In one three-hour philippic at a monster Alabama barbecue in the campaign of 1856, Yancey, who was to lead the cotton-state delegations out of the Democratic National Convention four years hence, lifted thousands to their feet in an uproar of adulation. Yells rent the air and hats clouded the skies—all for "Southern Rights."<sup>76</sup>

Southern Democratic proslavery demagogues, appealing to popular passions, had effectively vied with northern Republican antislavery demagogues in scotching efforts by Union-minded men, North and South, to hold the sections together. In 1859 William C. Rives of Virginia warned that if such "demagoguery" were not stopped, disaster to the Union would ensue.<sup>77</sup> Ironically enough, such a northern moderate as Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was

<sup>72</sup> *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX (1901), 393.

<sup>73</sup> Charles H. Ambler, ed., *Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter, 1826-1876*, in *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn. for 1916* (Washington, 1918), II, 280; Charles H. Ambler, *Secessionism in Virginia* (Chicago, 1910), p. 329; Clyde C. Webster, "John Minor Botts, Anti-Secessionist," *Richmond College Historical Papers*, I (June, 1915), 23; *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIV (September, 1928), 206-207.

<sup>74</sup> Edward A. Pollard, *Life of Jefferson Davis* (Philadelphia, 1869), pp. 418-19. See especially C. L. Lord, "The Ante-Bellum Career of Louis T. Wigfall," M.A. thesis, University of Texas.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas Robson Hay, "Joseph Emmerson Brown, Governor of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XIII (June, 1929), 90. Also Louise B. Hill, *Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1939).

<sup>76</sup> Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942), pp. 276-77; John W. DuBose, *The Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey* (New York, 1942), I, 91; Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, II, 504.

<sup>77</sup> Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, I, 18-19.

denounced by a foe as a "lying, hypocritical Demagogical master,"<sup>78</sup> and such an avid anti-Secessionist as Andrew Johnson was assailed as "the great Democratic demagogue from Tennessee."<sup>79</sup>

Republican demagoguery played its part in the campaign of 1860, and, with the coming of war in 1861, demagogues were still very much a part of the political scene. There was Fernando Wood, for example, who, by his appeal to laboring groups, had become a Tammany Democratic power in New York City and had been chosen for Congress in 1840. "Wood depended," his biographer reveals, "far more upon individual contacts, the sharing of drinks and the manifestation of a warm personal interest in the ordinary voter. . . . He acquired a speaking acquaintance with every long-shoreman in his district." In 1854 Wood had courted those strange bedfellows, the Irish and the Know-Nothings, who elected him mayor. He had proclaimed himself "protector of the poor"—yet he had done nothing for the slum-dwellers and his administrations were honeycombed with graft.<sup>80</sup>

Fighting for re-election in 1861, Mayor Wood charged that the Republicans would free the Negro slaves only in order that they could compete with white labor. He exhorted Celtic and Teutonic groups: "They will get Irishmen and Germans to fill up the regiments"; and, on the same day, he assured a member of Lincoln's cabinet of "my support of the war movement." Beaten for re-election, he became a staunch "War Democrat." By April, 1863, when Union optimism waned again, he made an incendiary antiwar speech to those "opposed to the war for the negro and in favor of the rights of the poor."<sup>81</sup> He became a militant "Peace Democrat," demanding an armistice with the Confederates, and his cohorts fomented the Draft Riots.<sup>82</sup> In 1864 Wood was again elected to Congress. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles expressed disgust with the popular franchise in the cities when such a "party demagogue," as he termed Wood, could again be returned to office.<sup>83</sup>

The disgust felt by Gideon Welles seemed understandable, judged by

<sup>78</sup> Jesse D. Bright to Hamilton, December (no day), 1858, Allen Hamilton Papers, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

<sup>79</sup> *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, Mar. 19, 1860, in Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1931), p. 60.

<sup>80</sup> Samuel A. Pleasants, *Fernando Wood of New York* (New York, 1948), pp. 11-17, 27, 48-100, 140-43; Gilbert M. Halprin, "Fernando Wood," M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1928, pp. 19-39.

<sup>81</sup> *New York Evening Post*, Nov. 29, 1861; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1897), 2d series, II, 1267; *Oration Delivered by Fernando Wood on the Anniversary of Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1862*; *New York World*, Apr. 9, 1863.

<sup>82</sup> Pleasants, pp. 140-143.

<sup>83</sup> *Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston, 1909), I, 524.



some of the characters who were chosen for high office by northern voters in the post-Civil War generation.

The demagogues made feverish efforts to collar votes of the foreign-born citizens.<sup>84</sup> Carl Schurz was sent out to whip up the "German-Americans."<sup>85</sup> To national party headquarters flowed a Niagara of such demands as "Send Hynes, an Irish orator, to Augusta at once"; or, to Connecticut, "a wide-awake Irish speaker with an Irish name."<sup>86</sup>

Twisting the British lion's tail also became a favorite vote-catching strategy. Militant "Irish-Americans," convinced that liberation of Erin from England could be achieved by invading Canada, organized an American branch of the Fenian brotherhood. President Andrew Johnson publicly expressed sympathy for the Fenians.<sup>87</sup> On the congressional floor, representatives having Irish-born constituents called for the release of Fenians who had been captured by British authorities after their raid on Canada.<sup>88</sup> Governor Richard J. Oglesby of Illinois charged that "every rebel [Confederate] found shelter under Queen Victoria's petticoat" and assured cheering Fenians in Chicago that Fenians crossing into Canada should not be interfered with.<sup>89</sup> Around New York and Boston, where immigrants from Ireland were concentrated, elected officials loquaciously insisted that their political party defy John Bull. "Every burst of oratory [was] a denunciation of Great Britain,"<sup>90</sup> it was noted. And the Fenians, encouraged by such windy but seductive promises, continued to threaten Canada. An Irish writer observed that the politicians' mouthings were "so much moonshine, only useful for the purposes of political capital."<sup>91</sup> One reformer protested against "the demagogism that courted the Fenians."<sup>92</sup>

Through the years the British listened to the American politicians' promises to Irish-born and Irish-descended voters. In 1871 one English commentator noted that in cities of the United States, where the "ignorant foreign element" prevailed, "the quiet working representative who conscientiously

<sup>84</sup> Charles H. Coleman, *The Election of 1868* (New York, 1933), pp. 90-92, 203, 304-305; *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XV (1932), 291; O. Fritiof Ander, "Swedish-American Newspapers and the Republican Party, 1855-1875," *Augustana Historical Society Publications*, No. 2 (1932), pp. 74-77.

<sup>85</sup> Joseph Schafer, ed., *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1869* (Madison, 1928), pp. 438-450.

<sup>86</sup> Leon B. Richardson, *William E. Chandler, Republican* (New York, 1940), p. 107.

<sup>87</sup> Joe Patterson Smith, *The Republican Expansionists of the Early Reconstruction Era* (Chicago, 1933), pp. 80, 88-89.

<sup>88</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 4048, 4057, 4293-95.

<sup>89</sup> Howard K. Beale, *The Critical Year* (New York, 1930), p. 303.

<sup>90</sup> Smith, p. 89.

<sup>91</sup> John F. Maguire, *The Irish in America* (4th ed.; New York, 1887), p. 614. See also Wittke, *We Who Built America*, p. 178.

<sup>92</sup> *North American Review*, CIII (October, 1866), 546.

ously devotes his time and abilities to the duties of his position, is very liable to be set aside for the noisy demagogue at elections."<sup>93</sup>

Benjamin F. Butler, although a self-proclaimed friend of the workingman, had run for governor of Massachusetts on the proslavery Democratic ticket in 1860. When the war came, he maneuvered President Lincoln into appointing him a major general. As commander of captured New Orleans he engaged in exhibitionist tactics, tolerated corruption, and insulted local women. Finally Lincoln removed him from his command. After the war Butler demanded the hanging of Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. Feasting on the fruits of his exaggerated military reputation, he in 1866 was chosen by the Republicans for Congress, where he became an intemperate reconstructionist. In 1882 he was elected governor of the Bay State—as a Democrat and “Greenbacker”! Two years later he ran for President of the United States as an “Antimonopolist” and “Greenbacker” in a “circus” contest.<sup>94</sup>

Ben Butler was only one of the so-called “bloody shirt” demagogues—those who energetically kept the war psychosis from passing.<sup>95</sup> Frantically the Republicans waved the bloody shirt in the campaign of 1876. In power when the financial panic of 1873 broke, they now softened talk of “prosperity” and shouted about past sins of the South. The G.O.P. platform on which Rutherford B. Hayes successfully ran for President in 1876 called for “the permanent pacification of the Southern section of the country.”<sup>96</sup> One party strategist reported to Presidential Candidate Hayes: “*A bloody shirt campaign with money*, and Ind.[iana] is safe for us.”<sup>97</sup> Hayes himself advised James G. Blaine: “Our strong ground is the dread of a solid South, rebel rule, etc., etc. I hope you will make these topics prominent in your speeches. It leads people away from ‘hard times’ which is our deadliest foe.”<sup>98</sup> And Republican orators and editors resurrected the horrors of the old Confed-

<sup>93</sup> “The American Republic—Its Strength and Weakness,” *Westminster Review*, XXXIX (1871), 331.

<sup>94</sup> Henry G. Pearson, “Massachusetts to the Front, 1860–1861,” in Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* (New York, 1930), IV, 499; Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York, 1943), pp. 153–54; Howard P. Johnson, “New Orleans under General Butler,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (April, 1941), 434–536; Frederick W. Dallinger, “Massachusetts in Reconstruction, 1865–1871,” in Hart, IV, 556 ff.; Louis T. Merrill, “General Benjamin F. Butler and the Presidential Campaign of 1864,” *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.* XXXIII (March, 1947), 537 ff.; George F. Hoar, *Autobiography* (New York, 1903), I, 345 ff.

<sup>95</sup> William A. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (New York, 1907), pp. 296–97, 300.

<sup>96</sup> Kirk H. Porter, *National Party Platforms* (New York, 1924), p. 95.

<sup>97</sup> Charles C. Tansill, *The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard* (Washington, 1946), p. 133.

<sup>98</sup> Mary Abigail Dodge, *Biography of James G. Blaine* (Norwich, Conn., 1895), p. 422.

erate prison at Andersonville, harped upon intimidation of Negroes in the South, and identified the Democrats with the provocation of war in 1861.<sup>99</sup> Vice-presidential Candidate William A. Wheeler counseled a Vermont rally: "Let your ballots protect the work so effectually done by your bayonets at Gettysburg."<sup>100</sup> Lamented James Russell Lowell: "Everything possible is done to stir up the old passions of war."<sup>101</sup>

High-ranking "bloody shirters" included Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, who in 1879 castigated the aging Jefferson Davis as "a double-dyed traitor" on the Senate floor and sobbed loudly about "the piles of legs and arms" which he had seen on a visit to the battlefield a generation earlier.<sup>102</sup> Another such senator was John Sherman of Ohio, whose demagoguery irritated his fellow Buckeye, Congressman James A. Garfield. Wrote Garfield privately: "I have never been more disgusted with Sherman than during this short session [of Congress]. He is very conservative for 5 years and then fiercely radical for one. This is his radical year which always comes before the Senatorial election."<sup>103</sup> When Jim Garfield, who had served in the war, ran for President in 1880, party strategists moved crowds with anti-southern appeals in verse:

Treason may make its boast, my boys,  
And seek to rule again;  
Our Jim shall meet its hosts, my boys,  
And strike with might and main!  
Once more he'll crush the foe, my boys,  
With arm and bosom bare;  
And this shall be his field, my boys,—  
The Presidential Chair!<sup>104</sup>

Another indefatigable vote-hungry inciter of sectional animosities in the presidential contest of 1880 was Senator John A. Logan of Illinois, who had aided in organizing Union veterans into the Grand Army of the Republic as an adjunct of the Republican party.<sup>105</sup> Logan whipped up the hysteria of a New York crowd of veterans and others by charging that the Democrats'

<sup>99</sup> Paul L. Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876* (Cleveland, 1906), p. 40; H. J. Eckenrode, *Rutherford B. Hayes* (New York, 1930), pp. 141-43.

<sup>100</sup> *New York Daily Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1876.

<sup>101</sup> Charles Eliot Norton, ed., *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (New York, 1894), II, 176-77.

<sup>102</sup> *Congressional Record*, 43 Cong., 3 sess., p. 2234.

<sup>103</sup> Theodore Clarke Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield* (New Haven, Conn., 1925), I, 471.

<sup>104</sup> Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston, 1938), p. 113.

<sup>105</sup> In 1868 Logan wrote: "The organization of the G.A.R. has been and is being run in the interests of the Republican Party." See Richardson, *William E. Chandler*, p. 108.

principles "led you into secession, rebellion, and covered this land with distress, and filled your streams with the blood of the best men."<sup>106</sup>

In 1884 Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, was elevated to the presidential office. Independent of popular clamor, Cleveland was praised by Andrew D. White, head of Cornell University, for being "utterly incapable of making any bid for mob support; there had appeared not the slightest germ of demagogism in him."<sup>107</sup> Soon President Cleveland provided the bloody shirters with fresh ammunition when he requested various northern governors to return captured Confederate battle flags to their owners. "A host of insincere demagogues," writes Allan Nevins, biographer of Cleveland, "rushed forward merely to traduce the President."<sup>108</sup> Governor Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, in his campaign for re-election in 1887, utilized the "returned flag" issue when he dramatically answered a protesting Union veteran: "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor." The Republicans renominated Foraker in a convention by acclamation as delegates and spectators waved their Foraker badges inscribed with the above slogan. Foraker was returned for a second gubernatorial term.<sup>109</sup>

Civic-minded citizens, who in England would have "stood for" public office as a patriotic duty, went into business or the professions in the United States, leaving the political arena to those who excited the voters over frivolous issues.<sup>110</sup> The prosperous business classes did not fear such mob-masters in office. Frederick Townsend Martin, wealthy New York socialite, later expressed the views of his class when he declared that the affluent could maintain their privileged position by throwing financial support and "our purchased Senators, our hungry Congressmen, and our public-speaking demagogues" against any party platform or legislation that might upset the status quo.<sup>111</sup>

The Populism of the 1890's, aimed at curbing "coupon-clippers" and combating the entrenched commercial, financial, and industrial East,<sup>112</sup> contained as many self-seeking "demagogues" as idealistic crusaders. "Dirt farmers" sent to the western state legislatures learned the ways of old-line practical politicians and forgot the interests of their constituents.<sup>113</sup> In 1892

<sup>106</sup> New York *Daily Tribune*, Aug. 7, 1880. When Logan spoke for Garfield in Vermont, "the audience was most enthusiastic over the Southern issues." *Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1880.

<sup>107</sup> *Autobiography of Andrew D. White* (New York, 1905), I, 207.

<sup>108</sup> Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland* (New York, 1933), p. 333.

<sup>109</sup> Joseph Benson Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life* (Cincinnati, 1916), I, 242; Everett Walters, *Joseph Benson Foraker: An Uncompromising Republican* (Columbus, Ohio, 1948), pp. 57 ff.

<sup>110</sup> See Lord Bryce's remarks, James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (New York, 1911), II, 74-75.

<sup>111</sup> Frederick Townsend Martin, *The Passing of the Idle Rich* (New York, 1911), p. 149.

<sup>112</sup> See John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931).

<sup>113</sup> C. S. Walker, "The Farmers' Movement," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, IV (March, 1894), 794-96.

Hamlin Garland published his novel, *A Spoil of Office* (Boston, 1892), which told of a self-educated hired man who, upon being elected to the Iowa legislature, was told by an old-timer at the state capital: "Every session young fellows like you come down here with high and beautiful ideas of office, and start in to reform everything, and end by becoming meat for Barney [the corporations' lobbyist] and his like" (p. 240). One observer said of the opportunistic Populist in 1894: "He ceased to be a farmer and became a member of some other class, perhaps a stockholder in a great railroad, or manufacturing corporation, with interests in common with the opponents of the agricultural classes."<sup>114</sup>

Meanwhile, during the post-Civil War decades, the South was producing its own demagogues. Vaudeville was the bait used by the Taylors of Tennessee. Robert L. Taylor, a Democrat, had won a seat in Congress by telling anecdotes and playing a whining fiddle, instead of discussing issues. In 1886 he opposed his Republican brother, Alfred, in a campaign for the Tennessee governorship. In joint "debates" the brothers delighted poverty-pinched and entertainment-starved voters with violin renditions of "Rack Back Davy" and "Arkansas Traveler" and recitation of poetry. "Fiddlin' Bob" was chosen governor over his brother, then was re-elected, and was later sent to the United States Senate.<sup>115</sup> As governor Taylor did not accomplish much that was worth while. At a time when agrarian distress was acute, when coal miners were competing with convict labor, when children were being born out of wedlock because parents were too poor to marry, he won votes not by a program for the betterment of conditions but by sawing a squeaky instrument and spouting resounding and hackneyed phrases.<sup>116</sup>

Bob Taylor's success was an expression of the agrarian restlessness prevalent throughout the South during the 1880's. The town merchants and the conservative so-called "Bourbon" Democrats, led by former Confederate officers—the groups who had taken control of politics after the overthrow of the "carpet bag" and Negro governments—were hearing rumbles of discontent.<sup>117</sup> That which they heard was the farmer's discontent directed at

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 796.

<sup>115</sup> Daniel M. Robison, *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 52 ff.; Lois Hale, "Alf Taylor in Tennessee Politics," M.A. thesis, Duke University, 1941, pp. 59 ff.; Nashville *Banner*, Apr. 1, 1912, Nov. 26, 1931.

<sup>116</sup> See Philip M. Hamer's criticism of Taylor in the *Journal of Southern History*, I (1935), 532-33.

<sup>117</sup> "The hold of the brigadier on the Southern heart-string is weakening"—so wrote the Knoxville *Daily Chronicle*, May 26, 1886, quoted in Robison, p. 33. See also, for evidence of growing discontent, Francis P. Simkins, *The South: Old and New* (New York, 1946), pp. 254 ff.; Hallie Farmer, "The Economic Background of Southern Populism," *South Atlantic Quar.*, XXIX (January, 1930), 77-91; Benjamin B. Kendrick, "Economic Discontent in the

the landlord, banker, and merchant, to all of whom he was in debt; at the manufacturer, whose prosperity he envied; at the government and ruling political cliques, in which he had little voice.

Leadership in overthrowing conservative Bourbon rule was provided by Populist "men of the people," who arrayed the rural whites against the "brigadiers," the town merchants and bankers, and the "courthouse rings," and who preached against Negro equality. During the 1890's Populist-minded heroes pulled themselves up to power and prominence in the deep South.<sup>118</sup> Among them were Benjamin R. ("Pitchfork Ben") Tillman in South Carolina, Tom Watson in Georgia, and James S. Hogg in Texas.<sup>119</sup> Early in the twentieth century Jeff Davis emerged in Arkansas and James K. Vardaman in Mississippi.<sup>120</sup> By pandering to the prejudices and pride of the whites in the "counties where the street cars did not run" and using imaginative stump tricks and uncorking coarse invective, such spellbinders climbed to governorships and United States senatorships—in some cases they went from the State House to the Senate.

In their appeals and harangues to the impecunious white agrarians, the Populist leaders exploited the Negro issue. Tillman took the lead in disfranchising the South Carolina blacks.<sup>121</sup> Watson embraced militant anti-Negroism.<sup>122</sup> Hogg allowed his Texas followers to use the race question.<sup>123</sup> Jeff Davis roared against the "nigger" across the Ozark mountains.<sup>124</sup> Vardaman became Mississippi's "Great White Chief" as, garbed in immaculate white suit and hat, he rode into piney-woods towns in a huge wagon drawn by snow-white oxen—all symbolic of "white supremacy."<sup>125</sup>

South, 1880-1900," *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn. for 1920* (Washington, 1925), pp. 267-72.

<sup>118</sup> Francis P. Simkins, *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina* (Durham, 1926); Alex M. Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (New York, 1922); William D. McCain, "The Populist Movement in Mississippi," M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1931.

<sup>119</sup> Francis P. Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge, La., 1944); C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1938); Herbert Gambrell, "James Stephen Hogg: Statesman or Demagogue?" *Southwest Rev.*, XIII (Spring, 1928), 338-66.

<sup>120</sup> John Gould Fletcher, *Arkansas* (Chapel Hill, 1947), pp. 289 ff.; Little Rock *Arkansas Gazette*, Jan. 3, 4, 1913; Orlean P. Bolian, "The Meaning of James K. Vardaman," M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1937; Eugene E. White, "Mississippi's Great White Chief: The Speaking of James K. Vardaman in the Gubernatorial Campaign of 1903," *Quar. Jour. Speech*, XXXII (December, 1946), 442-46.

<sup>121</sup> William A. Mabry, "Ben Tillman Disfranchised the Negro," *South Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVII (April, 1938), 170-83.

<sup>122</sup> Woodward, *Tom Watson*, pp. 401 ff.

<sup>123</sup> Gambrell, "James Stephen Hogg," pp. 355-56.

<sup>124</sup> Jeff Davis: *Governor and United States Senator: His Life and Speeches* (Little Rock, Ark., 1913), pp. 96, 214.

<sup>125</sup> Heber A. Ladner, "James Kimble Vardaman in Mississippi Politics," M.A. thesis, Duke University, 1938.



The Populist "people's captains" of the South perpetuated their kind in extreme form. From them sprang that later school of twentieth-century demagogues—those garish spellbinders who, on the stump, promised seemingly everything, preached from the Bible, assailed the "nigger," and used histrionics and hillbilly music. Out of Tillman's following rose Cole Blease of South Carolina.<sup>126</sup> Watson inspired "Ole Gene" Talmadge in Georgia.<sup>127</sup> From the teachings of Hogg emerged "Farmer Jim" Ferguson in Texas.<sup>128</sup> Vardaman's disciple was "The Man" Bilbo.<sup>129</sup>

The southern demagogues rose to power on the ground swell of the farmers' revolt. They kept the waters of public opinion muddy with invective as they ranted against corporations, town merchants, Negroes, "damyankee" Republicans, Wall Streeters, and courthouse rings.<sup>130</sup>

American demagogues have been confined neither to a single political party nor to a particular social viewpoint nor to one section of the country. Antifederalists like Michael Leib; Antimasons like Thurlow Weed; Jacksonian Democrats like Franklin E. Plummer, Richard M. Johnson, and Ely Moore; anti-Jacksonian Whigs like Tom Corwin; antislavery Republicans like James H. Lane, Nathaniel P. Banks, and Thaddeus Stevens; proslavery Democrats like Albert Gallatin Brown, Henry A. Wise, Louis T. Wigfall, Joseph E. Brown, and William L. Yancey; Tammany Democrats like Fernando Wood; anglophobe Republicans like Richard J. Oglesby; "bloody-shirt" Republicans like Ben Butler, James G. Blaine, William A. Wheeler, Zachariah Chandler, John Sherman, John A. Logan, and Joseph B. Foraker; southern Populist-Democrats like Ben Tillman, Tom Watson, Jim Hogg, Jeff Davis, and Jim Vardaman; and their successors like Cole Blease, Eugene Talmadge, Jim Ferguson, and Theodore G. Bilbo—all such "men of the people" played upon the mass mind in an age of the widened franchise.

Such mob-masters as these are long on gasconade and bluster and short on public service and constructive thinking. Issues of national importance

<sup>126</sup> William C. Ezell, "Tillman and Blease as 'Popular' Leaders," M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1931; James P. Sloan, "The Blease Movement in South Carolina," M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1938.

<sup>127</sup> Conversation of the present author with Ralph McGill. See also McGill's "Talmadge's Career," *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 22, 1946.

<sup>128</sup> John F. Onion to Mrs. John Durst, May 9, 1914, clipping from Tyler (Tex.) *Daily Courier-Times*, undated, enclosed in T. W. Jones to Bailey, May 16, 1914, Joseph W. Bailey Papers, Dallas Historical Society, Dallas, Texas. For Ferguson, see Ralph W. Steen, "The Political Career of James E. Ferguson, 1914-1917," M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1929.

<sup>129</sup> Albert D. Kirwan, "A History of Mississippi Politics, 1876-1925," Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1947, pp. 389 ff.; see also Kirwan's *Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics, 1876-1925* (Lexington, Ky., 1951).

<sup>130</sup> The present author has traced the rise of demagoguery in the South in an article, "Flowering of the Southern Demagogue," *American Scholar*, XX (Spring, 1951), 185-95.

are ignored or lost in a bedlam of sound and fury. The "gentleman" is eliminated from politics. The people, the mob, are regarded by the demagogue, the "man of the people," not as citizens but as ciphers, numbers of votes to be won or lost by whatever strategy. Ethics and morality count little, and causes are but means to one end, to be dropped or reversed when they lose their vote-catching value. But, conversely, the demagogue owes his rise and continued presence to the people he courts, who delight in his entertaining showmanship, his noisy, rabble-rousing techniques, and his fiery tirades in which emotion substitutes for thought.

The demagogue is a present as well as a historical phenomenon of our public life. In a future fraught with complex social and economic and international problems he will find new areas of ignorance and prejudice to exploit. With new means of communication his voice and his face may invade any house in America or abroad. In view of this disquieting prospect it has seemed worth while to examine the simpler forms of his historical antecedents.

*New York, N.Y.*

# Prince Eugene of Savoy and Central Europe

PAUL R. SWEET

BY the latest count, the books and articles which have a direct bearing upon the biography of Prince Eugene of Savoy number 1,772 and a volume of two hundred pages was required just to list the titles.<sup>1</sup> Yet for all the effort which posterity has made to keep Eugene's memory green and the lineaments of his picture clear, his reputation has become increasingly parochial;<sup>2</sup> and the outlines of his picture which once stood out so sharply have become blurred. He has remained a great name in central Europe; but since the end of the eighteenth century the world beyond has declined to be particularly interested. This has been conspicuously the case with American historical scholarship. Of all the titles listed by Böhm in his exhaustive bibliography, scarcely one came from the United States, and the effects of this gap are seen in a book such as Penfield Roberts' *Quest for Security, 1715-1740*.

As for British historiography, it has generally viewed Eugene in terms of Marlborough rather than as a creative political personality of intrinsic interest. And while Marlborough remains to British historians a somewhat problematical figure, Eugene has become a museum piece, labeled and set off in a corner. Churchill said of him: "From the age of twenty, for just over fifty years and in more than thirty campaigns, he commanded the armies and fought the battles of Austria on all the fronts of the Empire. When he was not fighting the French, he was fighting the Turks. A colonel at twenty, a major-general at twenty-one, he was made a general of cavalry at twenty-six. He was commander-in-chief ten years before Marlborough. He was still commander-in-chief, fighting always in the van, more than twenty years after Marlborough's work was done. . . . He never married, and although he was a discerning patron of art, his only passion was warfare." And Trevelyan, epitomizing the matter, wrote: "Without a country, and without

<sup>1</sup> Bruno Böhm, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des prinzen Eugen von Savoyen und seiner Zeit* (Vienna, 1943). This careful compilation was published as Volume XXXIV of the *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte des ehemaligen Österreich*.

<sup>2</sup> Helmut Oehler, *Prinz Eugen im Urteil Europas: ein Mythos und sein Niederschlag in Dichtung und Geschichtsschreibung* (Munich, 1944). This, the first volume of what the author intended to be a definitive history of Eugene's historical reputation, is confined to the non-German literature of the eighteenth century. Oehler's projected second volume was to deal with the Eugene-myth in Germany from the baroque to the present. The work as it stands is of permanent value, solid in scholarship, and notably uninfluenced by the political atmosphere prevailing at the time of its publication.

wife or family, he pursued honors and fame with the zest of a young knight-errant during a military career of fifty years."<sup>3</sup>

These conventionalized vignettes by the British masters, which present Eugene as *edler Ritter* pure and simple, differ in broad conception and in detail from almost all the Eugene-portraits of their German contemporaries. Indeed, the most popular of the recent German biographers, Rössler,<sup>4</sup> in flagrant contradiction to Trevelyan, gave Eugene a country (and the patriotic emotions to go with it), a wife (in all but law), and children; and large political conceptions, divorced from personal interest, were said to have dominated Eugene's activity as soldier and public servant. Rössler, to be sure, is not a scholar to be taken very seriously on his own merits, but he presented a conception of Eugene which already had been sponsored by historians of erudition and great academic influence.

That Eugene's reputation as a general should survive is not surprising, for over a span of many years his qualities of leadership were repeatedly put to the test, both on the field of battle and in the direction of coalition warfare. It is not surprising, either, that Austrian historians should sometimes celebrate him as the actual creator of the Austrian Great Power, or even that a very distinguished Austrian writer should pronounce him to be, without qualification, the greatest Austrian;<sup>5</sup> for Eugene's years of victory were, generally speaking, the great years of victory in the history of the Habsburg Monarchy. But it is surprising that this man who was Italian in ancestry and French in upbringing and culture, who loyally served the Habsburg emperor for fifty-three years, who never learned the German language well enough to care to write it, should be so fervently proclaimed by leading German historians of the twentieth century, writing in leading German historical journals, as one of the greatest German national heroes.

It is not a question of new sources pointing to a new interpretation, because the Eugene papers discovered during the last fifty years have been extremely meager.<sup>6</sup> Nor is it a question of the earlier generations of historians neglecting to utilize the sources they had, or being led astray by the faked letters and fabricated memoirs published by literary entrepreneurs in the

<sup>3</sup> Winston S. Churchill, *Marlborough: His Life and Times* (new ed., London, 1947), I, 467; George M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne: Blenheim* (New York, 1930), pp. 322-23.

<sup>4</sup> Hellmuth Rössler, *Der Soldat des Reiches: Prinz Eugen* (Oldenburg and Berlin, 1934). New editions appeared in 1938 and 1944.

<sup>5</sup> Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Worte zu Gedächtnis des Prinzen Eugen," *Gesammelte Werke*, III (Berlin, 1924), 37.

<sup>6</sup> Among the most substantial contributions of a strictly biographical character were Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Die Anfänge des Prinzen Eugen," *Historische Blätter*, I, Heft 3 (1921-22), 440-47, and Max Braubach, "Der Lebensausgang Prinz Eugens," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXI (1940), 42-61. Each of these articles was based upon the discovery of a single new document.

hundred years after Eugene's death; for the historians of the latter half of the nineteenth century made an admirable effort to bring the picture of Eugene into accord with actuality.<sup>7</sup> Quite simply, the new interpretation of Eugene may be regarded as one manifestation among many of what Huizinga had in mind when, in one of his last essays, he wrote: "Nothing is so dangerous to the future of historical science, nothing threatens it so much as the false heroism of our time."<sup>8</sup>

Eugene's rehabilitation as hero and as exemplifier of grand political conceptions was mainly a post-1918 phenomenon.<sup>9</sup> When the old Habsburg Empire was torn asunder, the historical contributions of Austria to the German national cause in central and southeastern Europe came to be appreciated in circles where before they had been, in part at least, ignored, denied, or deprecated; and a whole generation of historians, with adherents of the so-called *gesamtdeutsche Geschichtsauffassung* in the van, set about revising the historical record so as to do justice to Austria's share in the national cause.<sup>10</sup>

While some historians, indeed, still adhered to the older Arneth tradition and treated Eugene's concern for the *Reich* and for the Germans as something which, while important, was derivative from his concern about the Habsburg state,<sup>11</sup> even those whose point of view was fairly close to that of Arneth showed a disposition to measure Eugene primarily in terms of his contribution to the German nation—a *völkisch* emphasis which Arneth him-

<sup>7</sup> It is sufficient to mention in this connection: Alfred von Arneth's *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen* (3 vols., Vienna, 1858); the great collection of sources published as a part of the *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen nach den Feldakten und anderen authentischen Quellen* (21 vols., Vienna, 1876-81); and Aloys Schulte's fundamental article on Eugene's early life, "Die Jugend Prinz Eugens," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XIII (1892), 470-520.

<sup>8</sup> "Die Geschichtswissenschaft in ihrer heutigen Lage und in ihrem Werte für das Leben," *Im Bann der Geschichte* (Basel, 1943), p. 90.

<sup>9</sup> One of the pre-1914 hints of what was to come was to be seen in Karl Renner's *Grundlagen und Entwicklungsziele der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906), pp. 12, 19.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. my "Recent German Literature on Mitteleuropa," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, III (1943), 1-24.

<sup>11</sup> For example, Oswald Redlich, *Das Werden einer Grossmacht: Österreich von 1700 bis 1740* (3d ed., Brünn, Munich, Vienna, 1942), p. 294. But Redlich, who was born in 1858, belonged actually to the pre-1914 generation. There did continue to be produced in university circles also monographs confined to the modest task of setting the record straight. Of those which dealt in detail and from the sources with problems of policy-making at the Habsburg court at specific periods during the "Age of Prince Eugene," the following were of particular value: Werner Reese, *Das Ringen um Frieden und Sicherheit in den Entscheidungsjahren des Spanischen Erbfolgekriegs 1708-1709* (Munich, 1933); Hugo Hantsch, *Reichsvizekanzler Friedrich Karl Graf von Schönborn (1674-1746)* (Augsburg, 1929); Grete Mecenseffy, *Karls VI. spanische Bündnispolitik 1725-1729* (Innsbruck, 1934); and also Braubach's "Lebensausgang Prinz Eugens" (above, n. 6). Interestingly enough each of these works brought forward evidence showing that Eugene was not the decisive personality in Austrian policy-making in the period under discussion; but this evidence had no perceptible effect on the process of legend-building.

self, it must be admitted, had somewhat encouraged.<sup>12</sup> An example among many is the memorial address which Max Braubach, an outstanding specialist on the period, made upon the two-hundredth anniversary of Eugene's death.<sup>13</sup> Having established the point that, for Eugene, concern about Austrian dynastic and state policy had primacy over other considerations, Braubach was at pains to show that sound dynastic policy, as Eugene conceived it, led straight to a German-dominated Mitteleuropa, and he placed in the center of discussion the question "whether we are justified in celebrating Eugene as a German hero," which he answered in a ringing affirmative. This was the view sponsored by leading historians of the *gesamtddeutsch* persuasion, by Wilhelm Schüssler<sup>14</sup> and, most notably, by Heinrich von Srbik.

While Srbik did not present the hero in exclusively national terms, and indeed attributed to him extraordinary talent for harmonizing the supra-national and the national<sup>15</sup> within a grand conception of policy, the accent on national considerations was strong in Srbik's interpretation; and it was but a short step from his formulation to one which represented concern for national considerations as "determinative" in explaining the prince's political career. As one of the less cautious epigoni wrote: "In Eugene's deeds, as in the *Tragik* of his fate, the German element finally became determinative. . . . He lives in German history not only as one of the greatest German soldiers but also as a pre-eminent servant of the German nation."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> While no large dominating points of view show themselves in the body of his Eugene biography, in the last chapter Arneth bestirred himself to assert that the line between Eugene's Great-Austrianism and Pan-Germanism was not at all sharp, and he attributed to him a keen interest in increasing the dignity and greatness of the German nation as well as the power of Austria. These views corresponded very closely to Arneth's own. About that there is no doubt. But Arneth did not give a convincing demonstration that they corresponded to those actually entertained by Eugene of Savoy. The evidence which he had presented in the body of his book did not add up to his conclusions. Certainly Heinrich von Sybel, who published a volume of lectures on Prince Eugene (*Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: drei Vorlesungen*, Munich, 1861) shortly after the Arneth biography appeared, saw no occasion, on the basis of Arneth's work, to hail Eugene as a German national hero. To be sure, Sybel, his pro-Prussian bias notwithstanding, was able to pronounce a decidedly favorable judgment upon Eugene, but it was a judgment based on Eugene's great contributions to Austria. As for Eugene's attitude toward Germany, Sybel merely noted that he had a stronger feeling for German relations than did Charles VI and let it go at that.

<sup>13</sup> "Eugen von Savoyen," *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CLIV (1936), 17-31. See also Theodor Schieder, "Prinz Eugen und Friedrich der Grosse im gegenseitigen Bilde," *ibid.*, CLVI (1937), 264.

<sup>14</sup> See his "Prinz Eugen," in *Meister der Politik*, ed. K. A. v. Müller (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1922) II, 39-63; reprinted in the volume of articles by Schüssler entitled *Deutsche Einheit und gesamtdutsche Geschichtsbetrachtung* (Stuttgart, 1937), pp. 23-52; also his "Prinz Eugen und Mitteleuropa," *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, XXVI (1936), 209-14.

<sup>15</sup> As well as the supra-dynastic and the dynastic, the universalistic, the central European, and the Austrian! Srbik dealt recurrently with the Eugene-theme in his writings and public addresses, and he did a great deal to stimulate the interest and researches of others in it. See especially his *Deutsche Einheit: Idee und Wirklichkeit vom Heiligen Reich bis Königgrätz*, I (Munich, 1935) and his article, "Prinz Eugen und Friedrich der Grosse," *Wissen und Wehr*, XV (1934).

<sup>16</sup> Kurt von Priesdorff, *Prinz Eugen* (Hamburg, 1940), p. 5.



The exclusive emphasis which some of Srbik's confreres and disciples placed on Eugene's devotion to *Deutschtum* and the *Reich* finally became too much for him. He began to examine more critically his own thesis to see what there was in it, and the result is an essay, recently published, entitled: "Vom politischen Denken des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen."<sup>17</sup> It is a rather curious essay. The structure supporting the main argument is astonishingly weak, and the main contention is not sustained. Yet the essay is, for all that, extremely impressive, and brings the discussion to a new stage. The problems of a Eugene biography have never been put so clearly before, and if Srbik himself is compelled somewhat ruefully to admit that he has been only partially successful in piercing "the almost impenetrable wall" which separates Eugene, and particularly the "political Eugene," from view, it is not for lack of erudition; indeed, his knowledge of the literature, and especially of the most recent literature, is almost overpowering. In addition he has made a fresh search on a very extensive scale for new manuscript materials, and he has found some new Eugene documents. Since his hopes of unearthing papers which would reveal Eugene's political thought in all its fullness have not been realized, however, he has had to rely on scraps of evidence. He has assembled those scraps relating to Eugene's attitude toward *Reich* and *Volk* more comprehensively and systematically than anyone before him, and he has examined them in terms of the central problems set by his own school of *gesamtddeutsch* historians. The primary conclusion which he has reached is that those historians who celebrated him as a *völkisch* as well as an Austrian hero are fully vindicated.<sup>18</sup>

To reach his conclusion Srbik has addressed himself to the following questions: (1) Can Eugene's devotion to the *Reich* (presuming he had it) be plausibly explained? (2) To what extent did he exert his influence to make the protection and extension of the *Reich's* frontiers a primary aim of Habsburg policy? (3) To what extent did his feeling for the *Reich* and the German nation manifest itself in efforts to strengthen the *Reich's* internal structure?

Srbik is most successful in his treatment of the first question. He shows how close had been the ties historically of the house of Savoy with the *Reich*, how customary it had been for Eugene's close relatives to serve the emperor, and he reminds us again that when Eugene took service with the emperor he

<sup>17</sup> It is the only previously unpublished piece in *Aus Österreichs Vergangenheit: von Prinz Eugen zu Franz Joseph* (Salzburg, 1949), a collection of some of Srbik's historical articles.

<sup>18</sup> "Wenn er Österreich diente, so diente er bewusst und unbewusst, mittelbar und unmittelbar auch dem Reich und er diente dem deutschen Volk in den Massen, die seine Zeit erlaubte" (*ibid.*, p. 41). The chief revision in his appraisal of Eugene's political outlook is that he no longer attributes to him "universalistic" views (*ibid.*, pp. 29-30, 37).

moved at once into a circle of friends and kinsfolk. But while he gives a satisfactory explanation of why the transformation of the French-born Savoyard prince into a devoted servant of the emperor was no very difficult matter, Srbik is still far from demonstrating that the Holy Roman Empire as such meant very much to Eugene or that the prospect of furthering the interests of the German nation had an especial appeal to him.

As to his third question, Srbik has had to admit that, after careful study, he could not detect in Eugene "an active energy for strengthening the structure of the *Reich*" (p. 34).

So his argument rests mainly on Eugene's alleged concern over a period of many years with the protection and extension of the boundaries of *Reich* and *Volk*, and particularly in northern Italy, in the west, and in southeastern Europe; but even in the cases of northern Italy and the southeast his evidence is too flimsy to warrant detailed re-examination.<sup>19</sup> There remain two assertions which have frequently been made before and which (even though they are unsupported by new evidence) deserve to be examined with care, because they are actually the main supports upon which the *völkisch*-Eugene thesis rests. They are, first, that Eugene exhibited great zeal to secure and extend the *Reich*'s western barrier, and particularly in the futile negotiations with the French in 1709; and, secondly, that his *völkisch* feeling was demonstrated by the fact that he became the leader of the German party at court, and as the result of consciously steering a German course put his public career at stake in the critical year 1719.

<sup>19</sup> To show that Eugene was interested in northern Italy for the sake of the *Reich*, Srbik relies on two documents: The first is a letter written by Eugene in 1707 expressing agreement with somebody else's proposal that copies ought to be obtained of papers in the Milan archives showing the legal rights of the emperor in the various Milanese territories. A routine document such as this provides convincing evidence only to those who are already convinced, and Srbik neglects to mention, although it is highly relevant, that Eugene certainly regarded Lombardy as within the natural sphere of a consolidated and properly rounded-out Habsburg Monarchy, and therefore his alleged concern about strengthening the emperor's claims there cannot be presumed to reflect interest in the *Reich* as such at all, unless he explicitly said so (which he did not). The second document upon which Srbik relies in connection with northern Italy is a memorandum written by Leibniz in 1716 setting forth the historic rights of the emperor in Tuscany. Srbik thinks that this memorandum would scarcely have been written except at the behest of Prince Eugene, and he boldly presents it as an expression of Eugene's views; but he omits pointing out, although the fact is much firmer, that when it was a question a few years later of defending these imperial rights in Tuscany, Prince Eugene was foremost in insisting that, for the sake of peace, they must be abandoned. (Mecenseffy, p. 12.) Srbik briefly reviews Eugene's well-known interest in colonizing Germans in the southeastern part of the monarchy, and he now observes, very truly, that someone might argue that Eugene did not advocate this colonization for the sake of the *Reich*, but for the sake of the Habsburg Monarchy. In answering this argument, Srbik cites nothing whatever from Eugene, but gives us a quotation from the Vienna *Reichshofkanzlei* proving that somebody, at least (though not necessarily Eugene), found such colonization particularly pleasing because of its implications for the Holy Roman Empire!

## II

While Eugene's role during the negotiations between the Allies and French in the first half of the year 1709 has been cited very frequently as providing prime evidence of his concern for promoting the interests of the *Reich* and the German nation, there has been no consensus among those who have praised the part which he played as to precisely what he did to merit their acclaim. On the one hand, he has been presented as the spokesman for realism and moderation;<sup>20</sup> if his views had prevailed, so it has been argued, peace might have been obtained in 1709, and the emperor would have secured better terms than he got in 1713. In particular Strasbourg and much of Alsace might have been regained for the *Reich*. On the other hand, Eugene has been praised, and most recently by Srbik (p. 22), not because he urged moderation, but because he tried to get for the emperor not only Strasbourg and Alsace, but Metz, Toul, Verdun, and the Free County of Burgundy as well.

Clearly, if one is to make a judgment about these divergent assertions and their relevance to the *völkisch*-Eugene thesis, it is necessary to review the evidence.

At the beginning of the year 1709, it will be remembered, all signs seemed to indicate that the plight of the French was so desperate that the Allies could impose their will upon them. Between February 19 and March 20 the privy conference in Vienna held nine meetings for the purpose of discussing terms which would be acceptable to the emperor, and out of these meetings had come general decisions about policy. Prince Eugene participated in these discussions until March 13 when he left for the Netherlands. Although he was subsequently joined there by Count Sinzendorf, Eugene was the chief negotiator for the emperor in the conferences which ensued at the Hague with Count Torcy, the French foreign minister, and which culminated in French rejection of the Allied terms.

For the details of the discussions within the privy conference we are indebted to the researches of the late Werner Reese, who studied the minutes and was able to come to a more firmly grounded estimate of Eugene's share in policy-making at this period than existed before.<sup>21</sup> While Reese carefully avoided the appearance of depreciating the influence of Eugene, it is nevertheless Count Wratisslaw, the Bohemian *Hofkanzler*, who emerges in his book

<sup>20</sup> This was the view of Arneht, and has been repeated by many later writers.

<sup>21</sup> Reese, *op. cit.* In the *Feldzüge*, 2d series, II, 287-99, are published only the conclusions of the February and March meetings, which do not indicate the part played in the discussion by the various participants.

as the dominant figure in the privy conference, and it is Wratislaw more than Eugene who is pictured as having a carefully thought out conception of policy. Wratislaw's aim was not at all that of giving precedence to the *völkisch* interest, but of building up the power of the Austrian state by a consolidation of territory including Bavaria and most of Italy, and that, as for the rest, looked southeast rather than west. With these views Eugene was in fundamental agreement, not only at this time, but to the end of his life.

In 1709 he fell in line readily enough with the policy which subordinated Habsburg interests in the *Reich* to those in Italy, Sicily, and Spain. His instructions specified that a peace without Naples and Sicily would under no conditions be acceptable to the emperor; he had shared in the making of these instructions, and he carried them out vigorously.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, so far as the western frontier of the empire was concerned, he was authorized to ask for the moon and to settle for what he could get. He himself thought it important that the Rhine frontier be strengthened, and he believed the bargaining position to be such that this frontier could be considerably strengthened at French expense, but he had no doctrinaire views on what could, or must, be obtained.<sup>23</sup> The stormy scenes with Torcy, caused by Eugene's demands for French surrender of territory along the *Reich* frontier, do not appear to have derived so much from his zeal for the *Reich* as from his overoptimistic appraisal of the bargaining position.<sup>24</sup> In the end, however, Torcy was too stubborn: Eugene had to settle for Strasbourg and the possibility of part of Alsace, and he was criticized at Vienna by Wratislaw himself, not because he had fought too hard for strengthening the *Reich's* boundary in the west but because he had made too many concessions!<sup>25</sup>

After the French had rejected the terms, Eugene was at pains *not* to assume the blame for a negotiation which had failed, and he then let it be

<sup>22</sup> Eugene explained to Heinsius, the Dutch Grand Pensionary, that, rather than make peace without Naples and Sicily, the emperor would continue the war "*bis auf den letzten Mann.*" This is to be contrasted with the way in which, in the same conversation, speaking "*bloss generaliter,*" he mentioned the emperor's wishes concerning Strasbourg, Alsace, and other places along the Saar and Moselle; these claims, it was made clear, would not be defended "*bis auf den letzten Mann,*" but were objects for negotiation and bargaining. *Feldzüge*, 2d series, II, Supplement, 101-102.

<sup>23</sup> At the privy conference session on February 27, Eugene's attitude on the western frontier was reported to be as follows: "*Princeps censet Rhenum pro finibus statuendum. Hüningen, Fort Louis et multa rasiert cum Freyburg, ein garnison in Strassburg. Beyren und Cöln eorum restitutio non in praeliminaribus concedenda, sed cari vendenda Gallie pro obtinenda uno gusto barriere am Rhein, etiam jam excipenda Alsatiam [et] Argentoratum.*" Quoted by Reese, p. 177.

<sup>24</sup> After his first rough encounter with Torcy on these issues, Eugene reported to Vienna that both he and Marlborough believed that when "*der Torcy solchergestalten unsererseits einen rechten Ernst sehen würde, dass derselbe, nachdem er so viel andere Passus gethan, auch diesen, was das Römische Reich angeht, thun werde.*" *Feldzüge*, 2d series, II, Supplement, 108.

<sup>25</sup> Reese, pp. 247-49; Roderick Geikie and Isabel A. Montgomery, *The Dutch Barrier 1705-1719* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 130.

known that he thought the terms offered the French had been far too harsh.<sup>26</sup> The only evidence predating the breakdown of the negotiations, however, indicating that he then thought the terms too harsh is a very inconclusive passage or two in Torcy's dispatches saying that Eugene was inclined to be "reasonable" before the negotiations began, and that in the course of the negotiations he tried to avoid petty disputes, while "*étant d'ailleurs très-ferme sur les articles essentiels.*"<sup>27</sup>

The evidence, in short, does not bear out Srbik's contention that Eugene displayed exceptional zeal in seeking to foster the interests of the *Reich* in 1709. Nor does it support the contention that he showed particular realism and moderation. In fact, it is quite astonishing that his conduct in 1709 should be so often singled out for especial praise, for there was a real chance for a favorable peace in 1709, and Eugene shares responsibility for throwing the chance away.

### III

The years which had intervened since 1709 had given Eugene a new master, Charles VI; but although Charles like his predecessors entrusted Eugene with the most important diplomatic and military duties, a coolness between the emperor and the generalissimo nevertheless set in. In the years 1718-1719 Eugene had to fight for his political life.

It was Eugene's relative, Victor Amadeus of Savoy, who had brought matters to a crisis. He had wanted to arrange a marriage between his son and one of the daughters of the late emperor, Joseph I, and when the scheme fell through Victor Amadeus held Eugene largely responsible for his defeat and decided on revenge. His ambassador in Vienna, the marquis St. Thomas, became the central figure in the ensuing intrigue against Eugene, and two agents, Tedeschi and Nimptsch, were put to work to produce evidence of Eugene's disloyalty to the emperor, while the emperor, who knew what was on foot, had indicated that he would be interested to learn what they could find. The scheme, however, was betrayed to Eugene, who went straight to the emperor, and caused him to have Tedeschi and Nimptsch arrested and tried by a special court. They were convicted, and Eugene emerged from the fray stronger and more unassailable than ever.

As previously noted, Srbik attributes Eugene's troubles at this time to the fact that he tried to steer a German course and thereby came into con-

<sup>26</sup> Arneth accepted these claims at their face value. I have not gone into the specific French objections, particularly with respect to the famous Article XXXVII, as not being germane to this discussion.

<sup>27</sup> *Mémoires de Monsieur de Torcy pour servir à l'histoire des négociations depuis le traité de Ryswyck jusqu'à la paix d'Utrecht* (3 vols., London, 1757), II, 53, 110.

flict with the dominant coterie at court;<sup>28</sup> but the evidence suggests that the reasons for Eugene's difficulties were much more complicated than Srbik infers, and indeed it may be questioned if he was trying to steer a German course at all except in a very narrowly defined sense.

There are two fundamental accounts of this crisis in Eugene's political career. The first is Arneth's which is based to a large extent on the reports which Saint-Saphorin, the British emissary in Vienna, wrote to London. The second, by Baraudon, is written from the Vienna reports in the Paris archives.<sup>29</sup> Since Saint-Saphorin worked in close accord with his French colleague, numerous excerpts from his reports are in the Paris archives, so that Baraudon's account derives much more than one on the face of it would expect likewise from Saint-Saphorin. Saint-Saphorin remains, then, the best single source for this crisis in Prince Eugene's political career, and his reports, as well as the materials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, have been re-examined from the point of view of the problem under discussion.<sup>30</sup>

Although Saint-Saphorin gives a running account of the situation throughout these two years 1718-19, his angle of vision changes sharply from one year to the next. In 1718 he came little into direct contact with Eugene and appraised him mainly in terms of information which he received from trusted informants; but during 1719 he entered into intimate political rapport with the prince and gained a first-hand impression of his views and of his character. In his reports the reader sees Eugene first through the cold and somewhat unsympathetic eyes of associates and rivals, and then directly and close at hand.

One fact seems clear: In 1718 Eugene's popularity among the governing groups in Austria was very low indeed. From the emperor down, he was regarded as a man who had passed the peak of usefulness. He was particularly disliked by the so-called Spanish party, the faction headed by the imperial favorite, Althan, which owed its influence at court to Charles's nostalgic remembrance of the days when he had tried to assert himself as king of Spain, and to the strong predilection which he retained for Spain, for Spaniards, and for people who were predisposed toward Spain and Spaniards. Annoyed by Eugene's massive reputation, and frustrated by the

<sup>28</sup> See Srbik's article in *Wissen und Wehr*, cited above (n. 15), p. 178, and *Aus Österreichs Vergangenheit*, pp. 13, 24.

<sup>29</sup> Alfred Baraudon, *La maison de Savoie et la Triple Alliance, 1713-1722* (Paris, 1896).

<sup>30</sup> In spite of the reliance which Arneth placed on Saint-Saphorin's reports he nevertheless made only cursory and highly selective use of them. He evidently took very sketchy notes of his own in London, for he later had an Austrian consular official send him some more extracts. Even so, Arneth's direct quotations from Saint-Saphorin are very meager and are confined to the year 1719; Arneth apparently made no use at all of Saint-Saphorin's reports for 1718, which put the story in a quite different perspective.



power to obstruct which the cluster of top positions which he occupied gave him, the Spanish coterie became increasingly impatient. It is impossible to say with any degree of precision how much of the tension was due to personal rivalries and petty jealousies, how much to differences on public policy. But there *were* differences on policy. In general the Spanish coterie favored an orientation toward the western Mediterranean and an active commercial challenge to the maritime powers, whereas Eugene set particular store on the maintenance of the familiar alliance with Britain and the Netherlands, and on a southeastern orientation of policy. These differences ought not to be overemphasized, however, in estimating the reasons for Eugene's unpopularity in 1718.<sup>31</sup> He was no doctrinaire, and he had immense experience in accommodating himself to the idiosyncrasies of different imperial masters. Indeed, in 1718, he carried accommodation to such a point that it was misjudged as weakness, even by those who were not disposed to be either actively friendly or unfriendly.<sup>32</sup>

The impression of weakness was increased by the influence which the Countess Battyany was commonly supposed to exert over him. Certainly Saint-Saphorin was convinced that her reputation was deservedly bad. He gives credence to the fact that she took bribes,<sup>33</sup> that she kept Eugene from making journeys which he ought to make in carrying out his responsibilities, because she was afraid that he would find a mistress elsewhere,<sup>34</sup> and

<sup>31</sup> Pierre Muret in his perceptive treatment of Great-Power relations at this period not only ignores the existence of *völkisch* influences on Eugene's view or policy, but argues that fundamentally Eugene and Charles VI favored a very similar orientation for Austria. "*Par ses perspectives lointaines, la politique du prince Eugène orientait l'Autriche vers l'Adriatique, la mer Egée et la mer Noire,*" Muret writes. "*Elle n'était pas, ainsi, d'une inspiration si différente de celle des Italiens qui poussaient l'empereur vers la Sicile, Naples et le littoral toscan.*" *La Prépondérance anglaise 1715-1763* (Paris, 1949), p. 58.

<sup>32</sup> Apropos of a discussion with Eugene of the choice of generals for the imperial forces in Italy, Saint-Saphorin wrote to Stanhope, January 14, 1719: "*Le Prince Eugène, qui en qualité de Président de guerre, devrait proposer à l'Empereur les Généraux que l'on doit employer, et dire positivement les raisons qui sont en faveur du plus capable et du plus propre, par des ménagemens pour les Préjugés de son maître ne fait que de donner une Liste des Généraux qui sont en rang, sans aucun sentiment positif, et en laisse le choix à l'Empereur ou, pour mieux dire, aux Espagnols qui sont icy, lesquels ne regardent que leur passions et non le Bien des affaires. J'ay remarqué souvent, que quelques préjugés qu'ait l'Empereur, il cède aux représentations de son Ministère, lorsque ceux à qui une chose est commise luy parlent franchement et sérieusement.*" Public Record Office, State Papers, Foreign, 80/36. Baraudon, p. 252, concluded from his examination of the Savoy marriage question in the first months of 1718 that Eugene actually "*eût souhaité que la négociation de son cousin réussit, mais désirait ne pas avoir à faire connaître son avis.*"

<sup>33</sup> Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Oct. 4, 1719, P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/39. Also Eugene's secretary, Brockhausen, was believed to be amenable to bribery, though his price was high as Saint-Saphorin on February 11, 1719, reported to Stanhope: "*Je croy qu'à l'égard de Mr. de Brokhausen il ne lui faudroit pas moins de mille ducats d'or pour le bien mettre au fait. C'est aux Païs-bas, et lors que il y sera avec le Pce. Eugène où on peut les luy donner, afin que la personne qui y sera employée de la part du Roy puisse avoir sur luy l'ascendant nécessaire.*" P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/38.

<sup>34</sup> Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Jan. 25, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/38.

to the fact that she persuaded Eugene against his better judgment to make concessions to the imperial favorites who, in recompense, "procured for her everything that she wanted." The result was that "one no longer saw Eugene act with vigor."<sup>35</sup>

For reasons which are somewhat obscure<sup>36</sup> Eugene was most vulnerable in the department which above all was his most special domain—the *Hofkriegsrat*. Saint-Saphorin emphasized that his firm stand in favor of ending the war with the Turks and concluding the peace of Passarowitz had much to do with his unpopularity in the *Hofkriegsrat* at this time, for many of the army officers and departmental officials wanted the war to continue.<sup>37</sup> In order to plague the prince, his opponents circumvented his wishes with respect to military appointments and made life miserable for some of his best friends among the generals. But that was not the whole story. There was also the fact that Eugene had ceased to work very hard, and even when he was being subjected to the heaviest criticism did not bother to exert himself unduly.<sup>38</sup>

Eugene was a very proud man, acutely mindful of his great services to the Habsburg state; and his reaction under political attack was to consider the line which was consistent with his honor and reputation. To his friends he talked about the requirements of the situation in terms of his *gloire*, and he did not suggest that he would be in the least disposed to sacrifice his *gloire* for a particular governmental policy, *völkisch* or otherwise. About one thing he was absolutely clear. His *gloire* did not permit that he be dislodged from a single one of his offices. If he had to give up one, he would give them all up; and from June to October, 1719, it was indeed touch and go almost from day to day as to whether or not he would retire to his estates and to the consolation of his books.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile he and Saint-Saphorin drew

<sup>35</sup> Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Jan. 14, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/36. Even after Eugene had fully gained his confidence, Saint-Saphorin conscientiously stayed out of Countess Battyany's way, because any suspicion of association with her would damage his credit in Vienna. Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Oct. 11, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/39.

<sup>36</sup> Certainly Bibl gives only a part of the explanation when he attributes Eugene's unpopularity in the war department and in the army to his "*reformatorischen Massnahmen*." Viktor Bibl, *Prinz Eugen: ein Heldenleben* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1941), p. 223.

<sup>37</sup> Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, June 29, 1718, and Sept. 12, 1719, P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/36 and 80/39.

<sup>38</sup> "Il seroit d'autre part à souhaiter que le Prince Eugène eût un peu plus d'activité, car enfin il ne va aux affaires que tout au plus 3 ou 5 heures par jour. Et outre qu'il est regardé comme le premier Ministre, il est President du Conseil de Guerre et Gouverneur des Pais-bas; et pour remplir de si grands Postes dans un Pais où tout est si difficile il faut y donner plus de tems, d'application—qu'il n'y en apporte, comme il est mal servi par ses subalternes, beaucoup de choses se négligent, le tout luy est imputé. On luy impute aussi l'intéressement de ses subalternes, quoy qu'il soit certainement le plus en garde qu'il peut contr'eux." Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Dec. 16, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/39.

<sup>39</sup> "Il [Eugene] entra confidemment en detail avec moy sur les sujets de plaintes qu'il avoit. L'éloquence n'est pas son talent le plus remarquable, mais le ressentiment luy en donna alors

closer together. Saint-Saphorin had come to the conclusion that, if Eugene were driven to resign, the other ministers of the so-called "German party" would then be picked off one by one, and the Spanish faction would be left in command of the field. This, he became convinced, would be a most grievous blow to England. "I doubt if there is a man among those not actually in the service of the King," he wrote, "who has principles conforming more to the interests of His Majesty."<sup>40</sup>

As previously noted, the intrigues of the court of Savoy provided Eugene with an issue upon which he felt he could and must go to the emperor and demand a showdown; and he emerged the winner. In the crisis Saint-Saphorin committed himself so completely in support of Eugene that his own position would have become untenable if Eugene had lost out. Partly as a result of his promptings, partly as the result of an appeal for support from Sinzendorf, the British government sent General Cadogan to Vienna with the express purpose of indicating the value which it placed on Eugene's continuance in office.<sup>41</sup>

There can be no doubt that, on Saint-Saphorin's view, Prince Eugene stood for as pro-British a course as one could expect from a Continental statesman. The "German course" which allegedly was responsible for his troubles is, however, not so easy to delineate. It was, to be sure, customary at the time to speak of the "German party" at court; Saint-Saphorin uses the term, and historians have picked it up and used it, too, but without giving particular consideration to what it meant. The term was applied to a group of high officials, prominent among whom, in addition to Eugene, were Sinzendorf, Gundacker Starhemberg, and Schönborn, who had in common that most of them were from the German and Austrian nobility and that they did not belong, as insiders, to the Althan clique, although Sinzendorf, for example, was more or less in the confidence of both factions.<sup>42</sup> Saint-Saphorin considered them generally honest and sound of principle, whereby he inferred that they favored continued co-operation with the

---

*la plus énergique que j'aye ouï de ma vie, dont la conclusion étoit, qu'il convenoit entièrement à sa gloire de se retirer, et de ne pas souffrir icy les affronts et les déboires auxquels il étoit journellement exposé. Avec 10/m f[lorins] de rente, dit-il, je puis finir mes jours tranquillement, et sans embarras, et je ay une assez grande Provision de bons Livres pour ne pas m'ennuyer."* Saint-Saphorin to [Stanhope], Sept. 12, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/39. Also Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Feb. 22, June 3, 7, and 14, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/38.

<sup>40</sup> Saint-Saphorin to [Stanhope], Sept. 12, 1719, *loc. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> Stanhope to Saint-Saphorin, Nov. 4, 1719, P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/39: "C'est principalement pour le service du Prince et de ses collègues que le Roy va envoyer My Ld Cadogan à Vienne. Sa Majté se feroit gloire de pouvoir contribuer à soutenir leur crédit, en diminuant l'influence si dangereuse que le Favori a sur les affaires."

<sup>42</sup> By 1725 Sinzendorf was considered as one of the Spanish camp (Mecenseffy, p. 2, and Braubach, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CLXI, 47-48); but Saint-Saphorin certainly considered him a principal among the "German party." See also Hantsch, *Schönborn*, p. 284.

Maritime Powers; but beyond that he did not explore the political views which they might be said to hold in common. He was more conscious of their differences and of the difficulty of achieving any sort of cohesion among them. That the "German party" had an explicit "German policy" does not appear to have entered his head.

In fact, on the outstanding German issue at this period, the religious question, the "German party" did not have a common line but was sharply divided. Whereas Schönborn and his cohorts advocated that the emperor use his power in Austria to increase his imperial authority in Germany and to foster the cause of Catholicism in Germany, Eugene, Gundacker Starhemberg, and Sinzendorf opposed this policy because it would further alienate the Protestants, and antagonize Prussia, Hanover, and the Maritime Powers. Their German policy at this time was to use the empire as a modest adjunct to the emperor's power in Austria. They were far from thinking of Austrian policy as being primarily oriented toward Germany, and opposed risky adventures in Germany.<sup>43</sup>

But while Eugene favored a generally weak *Reich* policy, he became enthusiastic about a strong and active Bavarian policy, and this is particularly illustrated by the support which he gave over a period of years to a marriage between the houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach which might lead to the incorporation of Bavaria in Austria. True, when the project of a marriage between a Bavarian prince and a daughter of Joseph I was first discussed, Eugene was not enthusiastic. At least, the envoy whom the elector of Bavaria sent to Vienna in 1714 to promote the match got the impression that Prince Eugene was one of its leading opponents.<sup>44</sup> Be this as it may, Eugene eventually became a supporter of the Bavarian marriage. In 1718, when the elector wrote to him and asked for his support, Eugene returned a friendly answer,<sup>45</sup> but in spite of the ill will which the Savoyards gave him for allegedly sabotaging *their* efforts, the extent to which he seriously tried to influence the emperor at this time is not clear.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> See Martin Naumann, *Österreich, England und das Reich 1719-1732* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 17-18, 35; also Hantsch, p. 182.

<sup>44</sup> K. Th. von Heigel, "Kurfürst Josef Klemens von Köln und das Project einer Abtretung Bayerns an Österreich, 1712-1715," in *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur neueren Geschichte Bayerns* (Munich, 1884), p. 229.

<sup>45</sup> See K. Th. von Heigel, "Briefwechsel zwischen Kurfürst Max Emanuel von Bayern, Kurprinz Karl Albert von Bayern und Prinz Eugen von Savoyen," *Quellen und Abhandlungen, Neue Folge* (Munich, 1890).

<sup>46</sup> On February 11, 1719, Saint-Saphorin reported: "*Et quoy que ce mariage soit véritablement une affaire d'Etat, et autant qu'aucune autre dont il puisse s'agir, cependant l'Empereur la regarde comme une Domestique; et sçachant que presque tous les Ministres Allemands y sont contraires, il ne leur en parle point; et comme tout se passe à cet égard uniquement entre luy et ses Favoris, les Ministres n'ont aucune occasion de faire les représentations nécessaires.*" P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/38.

As years went by, Prince Eugene became more than ever convinced that the acquisition of Bavaria ought to be a primary object of Austrian policy. Near the end of his life he returned to this theme in the long dispatch which is the closest thing to his political testament which survives,<sup>47</sup> and argued that in order to promote the security of the monarchy the emperor should arrange the marriage of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to the elector of Bavaria, because this marriage was the "only means of attaching the Electoral House permanently to Austria and of creating for the future secure outer defenses for the hereditary lands." In a crisis Hungary and Bohemia were always likely to revolt, and the emperor could only depend upon the German-speaking parts of the monarchy. A most critical situation would arise if France, as she was always seeking to do, should succeed in allying herself with Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, because the emperor's German hereditary lands were without natural defenses and open on all sides.

Having said this, however, it is necessary to stress the limits of Eugene's *völkisch* interests as expressed in this memorandum. There is no hint that he considered the Habsburg Monarchy an instrument to serve the German nation, and the idea was foreign to his political outlook. As for the extent to which the Habsburg state might some day aggrandize itself beyond Bavaria in Germany, it did not enter into his political calculations, because the possibility was not actual. Indeed, the emphasis in the memorandum of 1735 was not upon the possibilities of establishing "the closest connection with Germany and the German nation,"<sup>48</sup> but upon averting the disasters which other German states, in alliance with France, were potentially capable of preparing for Austria.

Even the argument for the incorporation of Bavaria was based only incidentally on *völkisch* considerations; of primary importance, in Eugene's opinion, were the military and geographic reasons. Bavaria, he pointed out, was particularly important because, by allying herself with France, she could always move in on Tyrol, thereby separating the emperor's Italian territory from his hereditary lands. Union with Bavaria would free Tyrol from this threat. If Germans had lived in north Italy and Italians in Bavaria, the argument which Eugene used to justify the Bavarian marriage would still have applied, and with almost undiminished force.

And so, taking the evidence altogether, there is very little to support the thesis of a *völkisch* Eugene. The concerted attempt to establish Eugene as a German national hero has resulted not so much in giving depth and rich-

<sup>47</sup> Published in the *Feldzüge*, 2d series, XI, Supplement, 152-64.

<sup>48</sup> Schüssler, *Deutsche Einheit und gesamtdeutsche Geschichtsbetrachtung*, p. 34.

ness to the picture<sup>49</sup> as in greatly distorting it. Yet the emphasis characteristic of the Srbik school has had its positive side, too: After the panegyrics of the enthusiasts have been discounted, Eugene remains a European statesman of stature, not a mere knight errant; and unless one is prepared to say that such political figures as William III, Marlborough, and Louis XIV no longer repay study by our generation, he still is worthy of serious attention.

*Great Horwood, Bucks, England*

<sup>49</sup> Srbik, *Aus Österreichs Vergangenheit*, p. 8.



\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## A Study in the Origins of Interstate Rendition: The Big Beaver Creek Murders

WILLIAM R. LESLIE

ON March 9, 1791, near the confluence of Big Beaver Creek and the Ohio River in western Pennsylvania four Delaware Indians were murdered by a band of Virginians. Political currents thereby set in motion inspired the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery to demand on May 13, 1791, that persons accused of kidnapping a Negro in Pennsylvania be extradited from Virginia. The ultimate result was a congressional bill approved by the President on February 12, 1793, entitled "*An Act* respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the services of their masters." Thus the Second Congress of the United States under the Constitution very obviously packaged together fugitive criminals and fugitive slaves. Oddly enough, however, from the historical point of view, studies purporting to explain the origins of the statute stress never both but always either fugitive criminals or fugitive slaves. In the classical treatise on interstate rendition, for example, John Bassett Moore found that the abolition of slavery made it unnecessary to discuss any but the criminal aspects of the act.<sup>1</sup> Historians, on the other hand, have been almost entirely concerned with its aspects relating to fugitive slaves.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, materials have been overlooked and interpretations have in turn lacked the balanced perspective which larger bodies of facts can always supply. Since the act remains substantially unchanged today with respect to fugitive criminals and since its provisions respecting fugitive slaves are of considerable historical importance, its two aspects deserve concomitant development. The story of the murders on Big Beaver Creek is a proper beginning.

<sup>1</sup> John Bassett Moore, *A Treatise on Extradition and Interstate Rendition* (2 vols., Boston, 1891), II, 845-48. See also St. George Tucker, ed., *Blackstone's Commentaries* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1803), I, Appendix, Note D, p. 366, whose very brief history of the fugitive slave act virtually ignores fugitive criminals and stresses the idea that its necessity lay in the numberless inconveniences arising from the diversity of laws, that is, from the conflict of laws, pertaining to slavery.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1939), pp. 62 f.; Roy F. Nichols, "Federalism versus Democracy: The Significance of the Civil War in the History of United States Federalism," in Roscoe Pound, *et al.*, *Federalism as a Democratic Process* (New Brunswick, 1942), pp. 64 ff.; Alfred H. Kelley and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origin and Development* (New York, 1948), pp. 359 f.

On the first of March, 1791, came a report to Colonel David Sheppard, lieutenant of Ohio County, Virginia, that a band of Delaware Indians had the week before killed four Virginians and captured and carried away two more. The colonel quickly organized a party of men twenty-six strong and sent them off in hot pursuit of the Delawares.<sup>3</sup> In command of the party was Captain Samuel Brady, a well-known Indian fighter and something of a frontier hero. Assisting him were Captain Francis McGuire and Baldwin Parsons.<sup>4</sup> Although their hot pursuit because of recent rains followed a cold trail and possibly even the wrong one, it led the men north and east out of Ohio County, Virginia, and into and through Washington County, Pennsylvania, where the party was increased from twenty-six to thirty.<sup>5</sup>

After leaving Washington County, the party rapidly pushed on north into what is now Beaver County, Pennsylvania, but which was then a very rough country, unorganized and known as "Depreciation Lands."<sup>6</sup> On March 9, as the men approached the mouth of Big Beaver Creek where it flows into the Ohio River, they suddenly came upon four Indians whom they identified immediately as Delawares. Without further ado they pounced upon and killed the unsuspecting foursome made defenseless by surprise. No one troubled to ascertain whether or not these Indians were the ones who had killed the four Virginians in Ohio County. That one of the Indians was a woman was not indeed discovered until it was too late to spare her life. Out to kill Delawares, any four Delawares, these men acted on the basis of tribal responsibility and administered justice by reprisal.<sup>7</sup>

The killings took place in full view of William Wilson's blockhouse and trading post situated just across the river. According to their depositions, both Wilson himself and a young farmer, John Hillman, who lived nearby, saw the whole thing.<sup>8</sup> From these witnesses news of the killings spread rapidly and soon reached the ears of such powerful Indian chieftains as Corn Planter, New Arrow, Half Town, and Big Tree, who, at the suggestion of

<sup>3</sup> Colonel David Sheppard to Thomas Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania, Ohio County, Virginia, Apr. 21, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts* (11 vols., Richmond, 1875-93), V, 289-90. Same to Beverley Randolph, Governor of Virginia, May 9, 1791, *ibid.*, V, 301-302.

<sup>4</sup> See the curious letter from Corn Planter, New Arrow, Half Town, and Big Tree to George Washington, Pittsburgh, Mar. 17, 1791, in which a "Balden, persons" is mentioned as being one of the party. *Ibid.*, V, 315-16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 291-93, 402-403.

<sup>6</sup> Solon J. and Elizabeth Hawthorn Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1939), pp. 562-63.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 289-316. Over two years after the killings took place at the mouth of Big Beaver Creek, Captain Samuel Brady returned voluntarily and stood trial for murder of the four Delawares. He was acquitted by a jury on May 20, 1793. Joseph A. Bausman, *History of Beaver County Pennsylvania* (2 vols., New York, 1904), II, 725 n., 726 n.

<sup>8</sup> *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 289-316.

their friends in Pittsburgh, wrote to President Washington about the "murder."<sup>9</sup>

Washington referred Corn Planter's letter to his Secretary of War, Henry Knox, who wrote to gouty, asthmatic General Arthur St. Clair that the Indians' representations to Washington could have the "most pernicious consequences." Knox ordered St. Clair to investigate and if he found the Indians' statements to be true to denounce the killings to Corn Planter and the other Indians as reprehensible and to assure them that justice would be done.<sup>10</sup> On the same day (March 28, 1791), Knox wrote to Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania, that he feared the murders on Big Beaver Creek would provoke a general Indian war, continuing as follows:

To avoid such Deplorable consequences, every exertion will be immediately made within the power of the General Government . . . [but] the punishment of the Murderers will not belong to the General Government. The crime having been committed within the jurisdiction of the State of Pennsylvania, is to be tried by its Laws. No doubt can arise that your Excellency will view the transaction in its proper light and that you will demand the accused from the State of Virginia, according to the Constitution of the United States, or take such other measures on the occasion as you may judge proper.<sup>11</sup>

Mifflin received Knox's letter the next day and immediately issued a proclamation offering a reward of one thousand dollars for the capture of any of the perpetrators of the murders on Big Beaver Creek.<sup>12</sup> He waited to demand the accused of Virginia until Wilson and Hillman's depositions reached Philadelphia. Upon their arrival copies were made immediately and enclosed in a letter (dated April 23) to Beverley Randolph, governor of Virginia, in which the extradition of Samuel Brady and Francis McGuire was demanded.<sup>13</sup> On the same day that Randolph received the letter (May

<sup>9</sup> Beverley Randolph to Thomas Mifflin, Richmond, May 19, 1791, *ibid.*, V, 305-306. The Virginians in Ohio County asserted that "Wilson & Co." sold arms and ammunition to all Indians which made the "Pittsburgh clique" despicable in the eyes of the people in the West.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Knox, Secretary of War, to Arthur St. Clair, Major-General, Mar. 28, 1791, *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States* (38 vols., Washington, 1832-61), *Indian Affairs*, I, 174. Knox wrote to St. Clair again on March 29, and again on April 7, stating that he had written to Mifflin to demand the accused of Virginia for trial and that St. Clair was to suggest to the magistrates in the Pittsburgh area to take depositions immediately and forward them to Mifflin. *Ibid.*, I, 174 f.

<sup>11</sup> Knox to Mifflin, Philadelphia, Mar. 28, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 317-18.

<sup>12</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series* (10 vols., Philadelphia, 1931-35), I, 57.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 89; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 298. Knox suggested to St. Clair that he ask the "magistrates" to take depositions immediately and forward them to Mifflin. *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 174 f. This accounts for the depositions of William Wilson and John Hillman. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 291-93. The depositions were sent to Mifflin in a letter written by James Brison, prothonotary of Alleghany County, April 9, 1791. In this letter, Brison lauds Wilson as a man of property and of very good character and Hillman as a "decent sober young man, the son of a farmer." Brison to Mifflin, Pittsburgh, Apr. 9, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 286-87; *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 89.

3), he issued a proclamation offering a reward of three hundred dollars to any person delivering either Brady or McGuire to Pennsylvania's governor. The proclamation also commanded all justices of the peace, constables, and sheriffs and exhorted all good Virginians to try and catch the two fugitives from Pennsylvania justice.<sup>14</sup>

Up to this point there was not even a ripple of discord between Pennsylvania and Virginia, but on May 9 Colonel Sheppard wrote to Governor Randolph that the killings on Big Beaver Creek were merely reprisals and that the reputation of Wilson and his associates was so bad as to discredit completely their depositions. Since this interpretation of the affair was substantiated by the messenger who carried the letter to Randolph, he discussed this additional information in a letter to Mifflin and indicated that he was none too happy over his haste in accepting the Pennsylvania governor's version of the Big Beaver Creek killings.<sup>15</sup> A sharp break thus appeared in the hitherto cordial and co-operative relations between the two governors. Here was the entering wedge of interstate wrangling over the proper way to effect the fugitive criminal clause of the new Constitution.

About this time, however, another series of events was reaching a climax which was destined to become thoroughly entangled with the Big Beaver Creek murders. In the 1770's a Negro named John was brought by his master from Maryland to western Virginia, or so his master thought and intended. When the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary line was drawn, however, John found himself to be a free man in Pennsylvania instead of a slave in Virginia—much to his master's chagrin.<sup>16</sup> Undismayed by Pennsylvanian vagaries, John's master hired him out to a resident of Virginia in order better to retain his property in John and also to realize something on his investment. No sooner was John settled in his new environment than an anonymous group (which the Virginians called the Negro Club and said was the furtive arm of the powerful Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery)

<sup>14</sup> *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 298–99.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 301–302, 306.

<sup>16</sup> The agreement between the commissioners of Virginia and Pennsylvania with respect to the boundaries of Westmoreland and Washington counties was dated August 31, 1779, but it was not confirmed by the Pennsylvania legislature until April 1, 1784. Although Pennsylvania organized Washington County on March 28, 1784, the legislature recognized the unsettled and uncertain status of slaves in the county when it enacted a special bill on April 13, 1782, which extended the deadline for registering slaves as required by the Act of 1780 to January 1, 1783. The many problems relative to slavery in Washington County, however, did not solve themselves with the expiration of the extended time for registering slaves. Difficult statutory and constitutional questions which could not possibly be solved immediately continued to plague the slaves and the slaveowners for many years. Frank M. Eastman, *Courts and Lawyers of Pennsylvania: A History, 1623–1923* (3 vols., New York, 1922), II, 367–76; *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series* (31 vols., Philadelphia, 1894–99), III, 485–504; John Purdon, ed., *Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1818), pp. 480 f.; *Pennsylvania v. Blackmore* (1796), 1 Addison (Pa.) 284; *Respublica v. Blackmore* (1797), 2 Yeates (Pa.) 234.

was able to persuade him to return to Pennsylvania. His escape discovered, John's Virginia lessee advertised for his return. Acting upon the advertisement, Francis McGuire, Baldwin Parsons, and Absalom Wells captured the poor Negro and carried him back to old Virginia. This last return John made on or about May 10, 1788.<sup>17</sup>

On November 10, 1788, McGuire, Parsons, and Wells were indicted in Washington County, Pennsylvania, under the so-called kidnapping statute of March 29, 1788.<sup>18</sup> Wells was taken into custody but returns on writs of *capias* issued by the prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania on May 25, 1790, showed McGuire and Parsons to be still at large.<sup>19</sup> On May 13, 1791, the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,<sup>20</sup> having noted the alacrity with which Virginia had ten days before proclaimed a reward to catch the murderers of Big Beaver Creek and having also noted that McGuire (and perhaps also Parsons) was one of the murderers, memorialized Mifflin on the subject of kidnappers. The memorial prayed that the governor demand from Virginia the fugitive kidnappers pursuant to the fugitive criminal clause of the Constitution and that the Negro John also be returned to Pennsylvania although no basis, constitutional or otherwise, for this request was stated.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series: Papers of the Governors* (12 vols., Harrisburg, 1900-1902), IV, 219-20; *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 391; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 396-98. McGuire, Parsons, and Wells were agents of John's Virginia lessee by virtue of their acting upon the authorization of the advertisement for John's recapture and return. This was also, probably, the law of Pennsylvania at the time John was forcibly returned to Virginia. At least it was so stated a few years later in *Pennsylvania v. Kerr, et al.* (1797), 1 Addison (Pa.) 324.

<sup>18</sup> Criminal liability was incurred under the Pennsylvania statute of March 29, 1788, "if any person or persons shall by force or violence, take and carry or cause to be taken and carried, or shall by fraud seduce, or cause to be seduced any negro or mulatto, from any part of this state, to any other place or places whatsoever, with a design and intention of selling and disposing, or of causing to be as a slave." Purdon, *Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania*, p. 482. See also Section XI of the Pennsylvania statute of March 1, 1780, entitled "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery," which provided that the master had the same "right and aid to demand, claim and take away his slave or servant, as he might have had in case this act had not been made"; and other statutes providing for rewards for capturing runaways and for magistrates themselves to assist in the recovery of runaways. *Ibid.*, pp. 478 f., *passim*. An attempt virtually to repeal by interpretation those Pennsylvania laws cited—which protected the slaveowner's property and assisted him in the recovery of his runaways—by insisting on a comprehensive exposition of the Act of March 29, 1788, reminded one judge "of the attempt under the Bolognian law mentioned by Puffendorf, which enacted, 'that whoever drew blood in the streets should be punished with the utmost severity,' that a surgeon who opened the vein of a person that fell down in the street with a fit, had incurred the penalty of the law;—But after long debate, it was held not to extend to the surgeon!" *Respublica v. Richards* (1795), 1 Yeates (Pa.) 483.

<sup>19</sup> *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 43.

<sup>20</sup> The official name of the society as stated in its memorial to Mifflin was "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Conditions of the African Race." It was organized by charter in 1789. *Ibid.*, I, 39. For some interesting comments with respect to the activities and point of view of the society, see *Respublica v. Richards* (1795), 1 Yeates (Pa.) 480 f.

<sup>21</sup> *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 39.

Complying with the Pennsylvania Society's request, Mifflin demanded the fugitives from Virginia.<sup>22</sup> Instead of acting swiftly as in the case of the Big Beaver Creek murders, however, Randolph first consulted his council. Those gentlemen decided that Pennsylvania's request should be referred to Virginia's attorney general, James Innes. This decision was made, they said, because they had some doubts as to the method of pursuing fugitives—which is very curious indeed when one recalls the quick action and procedure instituted in Virginia for the capture of the Big Beaver Creek fugitives.<sup>23</sup> In any case, this was the second step in the development of interstate intransigence in the matter of carrying into full force and effect the fugitive criminal clause of the Constitution.

Under the circumstances one would scarcely expect the attorney general of Virginia to favor officially a delivery of the kidnappers to Pennsylvania but Innes' opinion seem to have been *especially* designed to provide a legal bar to Mifflin's demand. The opinion contained four points. First: the Pennsylvania indictments complain that the Negro was taken violently, not feloniously, which in Virginia was merely a trespass as between the parties or a breach of the peace as between the offenders and the commonwealth. With respect to the latter, the offenders could appear by attorney and, if acquitted, there was no reason for the demand; if found guilty, and if personal presence were necessary for punishment, there was plenty of time then to make the demand. There seems to be also in this part of the argument the intimation that such acts as were complained of would not come within the constitutional terms "Treason, Felony, or other Crime." Second: adequate proof of residence within Virginia had not preceded the demand and consequently the demand might just as well have been made of Georgia as Virginia. Third: the act complained of must be such as the "state making the demand possesses an exclusive jurisdiction over. For, if either the federal court, or the courts of the State into which the offenders may take refuge are authorized to punish the offenders, there is no danger of an escape from justice, and no reason for a demand. The delivery and removal are only to be made for the sake of a jurisdiction that is proper." Fourth: there had to be a positive law for acquiring control over the person, delivering him up, and removing him from a state. Since Virginia had no such law either in her constitution or in her statutes, this authority, if in existence, had to be in the United States Constitution, where delivery is required and removal authorized. But, the opinion insisted in conclusion, the manner in which

<sup>22</sup> Mifflin to Randolph, June 4, 1791, *Pennsylvania Archives: Ninth Series*, I, 124; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 320-22.

<sup>23</sup> Randolph to Mifflin, June 20, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 329.



either of these was to be effected was not prescribed. Therefore, the requirement in the national constitution could not be properly met.<sup>24</sup>

Upon receiving Innes' opinion, Randolph informed Mifflin of its contents, saying that it precluded him from taking *any* measures for apprehending and delivering up the persons demanded. He added that it was to be lamented that no means had been provided for implementing a clause in the Constitution so important as the one presently at issue.<sup>25</sup> This was, therefore, Virginia's official refusal to deliver up the fugitives. Mifflin's reaction was to write at once to Washington, laying the whole matter before the chief executive.<sup>26</sup> Washington, in turn, referred it to his attorney general, Edmund Randolph, who also wrote an opinion, a rather lengthy one, dated July 20, 1791.

Randolph held that Mifflin had been deficient in handling the demand on Virginia. In summarizing this view, he wrote:

From the premise I must conclude that it would have been more precise in the Governor of Pennsylvania to transmit to the Governor of Virginia an authenticated copy of the law declaring the offence;<sup>27</sup> that it was essential that he should transmit sufficient evidence of McGuire and others having fled from justice of the former; and having been found in the latter; that without that evidence, the Executive of Virginia ought not to have delivered them up; that, with it, they ought not to refuse.<sup>28</sup>

Randolph also cautioned Washington against interfering in the dispute until every hope of the states settling it voluntarily had passed. He said it was incumbent upon Mifflin to convince Beverley Randolph that he should act. He suggested that Washington's entrance into the dispute at that time would "establish a precedent for assuming the agency in every embryo dispute between the states; whereas your mediation would be better reserved until the interchange of their sentiments and pretensions shall fail in an accommodation."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 41.

<sup>25</sup> Randolph to Mifflin, July 1, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 340-41.

<sup>26</sup> Mifflin to Washington, July 18, 1791, *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 160; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 343-44; *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 39. Mifflin wrote to Randolph also on July 18, telling him that he had written to Washington and stating that he did not "mean to involve the States in any further controversy on the present occasion." *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 345; *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 160-61.

<sup>27</sup> Apparently Edmund Randolph did not know that Mifflin on July 18 had sent to Beverley Randolph a copy of the law declaring the offense. Mifflin to Beverley Randolph, *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 160-61; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 344-45.

<sup>28</sup> *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 42.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 43. Edmund Randolph's position with regard to the dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia was approximately the same as it had been in 1784 when he was attorney general of Virginia and South Carolina had demanded the delivery of one George Hancock from Virginia to stand trial in South Carolina for beating up one Jonas Beard, a justice of the

A copy of Edmund Randolph's opinion was sent to Mifflin who, pursuant thereto, immediately wrote (August 2, 1791) to Beverley Randolph in an attempt to convince him that he should comply with Pennsylvania's request to deliver up the fugitives.<sup>30</sup> Mifflin also addressed the Pennsylvania legislature on the whole affair (August 24, 1791), where he summarized the events which led up to the dispute and emphasized the correctness of Pennsylvania's constitutional position.<sup>31</sup>

By airing the dispute before his legislature, Mifflin only stirred up Virginia's legislators—who accepted the Constitution as the basis for argument—to make retaliatory complaints against Pennsylvania to their governor. Speaking for their constituents in western Virginia, William Mimachan and Benjamin Briggs asserted that it was really Pennsylvania that had violated the Constitution when she permitted the Negro Club to steal slaves from her sister states. They said that the Negro Club was, moreover, under Pennsylvania law, allowed to indent slaves after seducing them from law-abiding Virginians and thus pay the costs of raids against slaveholders. And besides, Pennsylvania law gave freedom to slaves residing for six months or more within the state “in direct opposition as we conceive to the federal constitution.”<sup>32</sup> John Waller and Horatio Hall also sent a joint letter to their governor in which they complained bitterly that the practices permitted by Pennsylvania law were an open violation of the “Feodal” constitution. They concluded: “We must therefore request you in behalf of our constituents to make a demand of the State of Pennsylvania, for the slaves so forcibly taken and detained.”<sup>33</sup>

As this question became increasingly a public quarrel, the governor and council of Virginia, perhaps naturally enough, decided on January 3, 1792, to issue a proclamation canceling the proclamation of May 3, 1791, which, it will be recalled, offered a reward of three hundred dollars to anyone who delivered the Big Beaver Creek murderers to Pennsylvania justice.<sup>34</sup> In Pennsylvania, Mifflin spoke again to the legislature declaiming against the

---

peace and a member of the South Carolina legislature. Moore, *Treatise on Extradition*, II, 826 f.; *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1865), I, 66–77; Moncure Daniel Conway, *Omitted Chapters of History Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph* (New York, 1888), pp. 52–54.

<sup>30</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 170, 171.

<sup>31</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series*, IV, 178 f.

<sup>32</sup> William Mimachan and Benjamin Briggs to Beverley Randolph, Nov. 20, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 396–98.

<sup>33</sup> John Waller and Horatio Hall to Beverley Randolph, Nov. 30, 1791, *ibid.*, V, 402–403. Waller and Hall appear to have been particularly indignant because one Samuel Bailey, a Virginian, had been required by Pennsylvania magistrates to be bound in a bond of £2,000 to keep the peace with his own slaves when he went after them after they had been seduced by the Negro Club.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 421–22.

constitutional defense of Virginia. He maintained that the Pennsylvania courts were entitled to determine the guilt of the murderers of Big Beaver Creek and the kidnappers of the Negro John. He insisted it was immaterial whether or not the Negro John was originally a slave because the laws of Pennsylvania "though they will not permit violence, or injustice, supply an adequate remedy for every wrong." On the constitutional side of the question he said:

If strangers, who having wilfully committed an offence against the municipal law of Pennsylvania, retire to a neighboring state, may be denominated fugitives from justice; then every member of the section of the Federal constitution, which authorizes the demand as a preliminary to the trial of the offender, is amply satisfied on the present occasion; and neither policy, justice, nor candor, will admit a construction of that constitution, which, at the time of the ratification, shall place the citizens of the Union in a state of nature, and declare the antecedent period to be now free from every Federal compact, or obligation.<sup>35</sup>

It is apparent that by this time the stalemate between Pennsylvania and Virginia could yield no voluntary constitutional implementation of the fugitive criminal clause, to say nothing of the fugitive slave clause. Co-operation, at first vigorous, then stumbling, had finally stopped completely. By this time there were two primary issues. The first is the more curious. Innes, speaking for Virginia, had raised an enigmatical jurisdictional problem. He seemed to imply that Virginia's courts were the proper tribunals to try Virginia's citizens for acts committed in and defined as crimes by Pennsylvania. Was Virginia, in Innes' thinking, the *forum ligeantiae rei*? Certainly Brady, McGuire, Parsons, and Wells all owed allegiance to Virginia. Unfortunately, too little of Innes' writings remain to adduce more evidence on this point but he did write in this instance, it will be recalled, that the act complained of must be such as the "State making the demand possesses an exclusive jurisdiction over. For, if either the federal court, or the courts of the state into which the offenders may take refuge are authorized to punish the offenders, there is no danger of an escape from justice, and no reason for the demand. The delivery and removal are only to be made for the sake of a jurisdiction that is proper."

Mifflin on this point wrote to Washington: "It is certain that the laws of the state in which the act is committed must furnish the rule to determine its criminality, and not the laws of the state in which the fugitive from justice happens to be discovered."<sup>36</sup> It is apparent that Mifflin slid off Innes' point (since Innes did not contend for any jurisdiction but for Virginia

<sup>35</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series*, IV, 220.

<sup>36</sup> Mifflin to Washington, July 18, 1791, *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 39.

only) and perhaps sought thereby to dull it by a *reductio ad absurdum*. But Edmund Randolph, for the United States, met Innes head on: "It is notorious that the crime is cognizable in Pennsylvania; for crimes are peculiarly of a local nature. But if it were conceived, that Virginia might chastise offenses against Pennsylvania, it would not follow that the latter could not demand a malefactor from the former."<sup>37</sup>

Innes, however, was unimpressed. He refused to budge. Note the nuances of stubbornness in his diction and phrasing of the following two statements made on January 3, and on March 12, 1792, respectively:

Neither the Strictures of Governor Mifflin nor the reasonings of the Attorney-Gen'l of the United States have induced [me] to recede from the Opinion [I] gave to the Executive.<sup>38</sup>

Mutatis mutandis, the opinion contained in my letter, bearing date the 20th of June, 1791, respecting the Demand made by Governor Mifflin on this State for the delivery of Brady, McGuire, and Parsons, the sentiments I then expressed, I have seen no cause to correct, notwithstanding ye eminence of certain personages who are in Hostility to them.<sup>39</sup>

The second of the two primary issues between Pennsylvania and Virginia was also first raised by Innes when he insisted that there had to be a positive law for acquiring control over a person, delivering him up, and removing him from a state. His argument was that every free man in Virginia was entitled to the unmolested enjoyment of his liberty, unless it was taken away by the Constitution or the laws of the United States, or by the constitution or laws of Virginia. He found that the delivery and removal of the Big Beaver Creek murderers and the Negro kidnappers could be effected only under the authority of the United States Constitution. "By that," he said, "the delivery is required and the removal authorized. But the manner in which either shall be effected is not prescribed."<sup>40</sup>

The question thus raised was really whether or not Congress should be asked to enact a "positive law" implementing the fugitive criminal clause of the Constitution. Through the two governors, Randolph and Mifflin, this question was passed on from Innes to Washington. Edmund Randolph, in turn, although not in favor of congressional action conceded that "perhaps such a step might content all scruples."<sup>41</sup> It was under these circumstances that Washington, on October 27, 1791, laid the whole controversy before

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 42.

<sup>38</sup> Innes to Lieutenant-Governor Wood, Jan. 3, 1792, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 421.

<sup>39</sup> Innes to Governor Henry Lee, Mar. 12, 1792, *ibid.*, V, 464.

<sup>40</sup> *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 41.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 42.

Congress together with the correspondence between the governors of the two states and the opinion of Edmund Randolph.<sup>42</sup> Thereafter, a bill framed in the Senate and accepted by the House with only a few minor changes was approved by the President on February 12, 1793.<sup>43</sup>

The title of the bill was: "*An Act* respecting Fugitives from Justice, and persons escaping from the Service of their Masters." It had therefore two stated objectives: (1) the return of fugitive criminals; (2) the return of fugitives from labor. It had four clauses: two devoted to fugitive criminals; two devoted to fugitives from labor.<sup>44</sup> There are many accounts of the legislative history of this act in Congress in which the scantiest materials have been worked and reworked,<sup>45</sup> adding little to the history of the statute. One account has it that southerners demanded the act because fugitive slaves were being protected against their masters in the north;<sup>46</sup> another that this was not the reason for the act, but instead that it was designed to prevent the kidnapping of free Negroes.<sup>47</sup> None, however, has told the story beginning with the Big Beaver Creek murders which explains the curious way in which murderers became entangled with kidnappers and thus why the act of February 12, 1793, came to embrace two objectives. In this connection, some historians have been inclined to assert bases for the act which cannot be sustained. It has been alleged, for example, that the act was patterned after a congressional statute of July 20, 1790, entitled, "For the government and regulation of seamen in the merchant service." This is a most interesting idea but investigation showed it to be inadequately documented.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902* (10 vols., New York, 1903), I, 111.

<sup>43</sup> *Senate Journal*, 2 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 460-82; *House Journal*, 2 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 675, 676; *Annals of Congress*, 2d Cong., 1791-93, Appendix, p. 1414.

<sup>44</sup> 1 *Statutes at Large*, pp. 302-304; *Annals of Congress*, 2d Cong., Appendix, pp. 1414-15; that part of the act dealing with fugitive criminals is reproduced in Moore, *A Treatise on Extradition*, II, 846-47.

<sup>45</sup> Richard Hildreth, *Despotism in America* (Boston, 1854), pp. 266 f.; Mary Stoughton Locke, *Anti-slavery in America . . . 1619-1808* (Boston, 1901), pp. 131 f.; Marion Gleason McDougall, *Fugitive Slaves, 1619-1865* (Boston, 1891), pp. 16 f.; Moore, *Treatise on Extradition*, II, 845 f.; Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (4th ed., Boston, 1875-77), I, 69 f. See also Allen Johnson, "Constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Acts," *Yale Law Journal*, XXXI, 161-82. The proposal for the combined fugitive criminal and fugitive slave act was first made in the House. McDougall, pp. 17 f. That the proposal was dropped by the House and was later taken up by the Senate suggests that Congress thought it more fitting for the upper chamber to draft bills pertaining to interstate relations since the upper chamber represented states as states. The bill was debated frequently and therefore perhaps sharply in the Senate between November 22, 1792, and February 8, 1793. *Senate Journal*, 2 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 460-82, *passim*. The Senate finished its draft of the bill and sent it to the House on January 18, 1793. *House Journal*, 2 Cong. 2 sess., p. 675.

<sup>46</sup> C. W. A. David, "The Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 and its Antecedents," *Journal of Negro History*, IX (January, 1924), 18-25. No authority is cited for this position.

<sup>47</sup> Homer Carey Hockett, *The Constitutional History of the United States, 1826-1876* (New York, 1939), pp. 189-90. It is curious that Mr. Hockett uses as authority for his position the article cited in the previous footnote.

<sup>48</sup> Hildreth, pp. 266 f.

More important from the constitutional standpoint were arguments of later abolitionists that the framers of the Constitution intended no implementation by Congress of the fugitive slave clause because the clause itself was sufficiently clear for the states to carry out its proper intent. Support for this position rested on the claim that Attorney General Randolph's opinion did not favor congressional implementation of the fugitive criminal clause (which is true) and therefore by analogy the fugitive slave act of 1793 was an improper exercise of legislative authority.<sup>49</sup> The truth is that Randolph, while he did not favor it, thought a congressional act authorizing private persons to enter states to seize fugitive criminals would be a possible solution to the difficulty, namely, the lack of a "positive law" on the subject.<sup>50</sup>

Incidentally, Randolph's idea that Congress might authorize private persons to enter states to seize fugitive criminals may have been incorporated into that part of the act pertaining to fugitives from labor which empowered the slave's master, or his agent or attorney, to seize or arrest "such fugitive from labor" as had escaped into another state or territory. This was sharply different from the provision respecting fugitive criminals because there the executive of the state or territory into which a fugitive from justice fled was, upon proper certification, "to cause him or her to be arrested and secured," and to give notice thereof to the executive authority of the state making the demand.<sup>51</sup>

Finally, was the act of February 12, 1793, consistent with the intentions of the framers with respect to both fugitive slaves and fugitive criminals?<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-55. Edmund Randolph did not favor congressional implementation of the fugitive criminal clause because he thought it *inexpedient* for Washington to interfere in the Virginia-Pennsylvania controversy. *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 41-42.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 42.

<sup>51</sup> *Statutes at Large*, pp. 302-304; *Annals of Congress*, 2d Cong., Appendix, 1414-15.

<sup>52</sup> Apropos of the intentions of the framers before the Philadelphia convention met is the following: "I hope it will not be conceived from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people, who are the subjects of this letter, in slavery. I can only say that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting. But when slaves who are happy and contented with their present masters, are tampered with and seduced to leave them; when masters are taken unawares by these practices; when a conduct of this sort begets discontent on one side and resentment on the other, and when it happens to fall on a man, whose purse will not measure with that of the Society [Society of Quakers in Philadelphia], and he loses [*sic*] property for want of means to defend it; it is oppression in the latter case, and not humanity in any; because it introduces more evils than it can cure." George Washington to Robert Morris, Apr. 12, 1786, John C. FitzPatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (37 vols., Washington, 1938), XXVIII, 407-408. The following is also noteworthy to assess intention after the Constitution was framed and from the point of view of a New Englander who, signing himself merely "A Citizen," preferred to bask in anonymity: "... please observe one clause in the New Constitution, which was made solely to prevent the injustice that this society [Providence Abolition Society] and their adherents, from continuing the same unkind treatment to their neighbors and the citizens of the States at large, have been guilty of for many years; I mean that shameful practice



The records of the Constitutional Convention, while few enough on this point, show that the subject of interstate fugitives was taken up on August 28, 1787. At that time, Pierce Butler and Charles Pinckney "moved to require fugitive slaves and servants to be delivered up like criminals,"<sup>53</sup> because, from the slaveholders' standpoint, it was neither unusual<sup>54</sup> nor illogical<sup>55</sup> to consider fugitives from labor as approximating the status of fugitives from crime. Objections were raised, however, by James Wilson and especially by Roger Sherman who could see no more "propriety in the public seizing and surrendering a slave or servant, than a horse." Butler then withdrew his motion on condition that "some particular provision might be made" for fugitive slaves. Thus, apparently, an understanding was reached agreeable to both factions, because immediately thereafter the fugitive criminal clause was agreed to *nem. con.* while the fugitive slave clause was approved with like unanimity the very next day.<sup>56</sup>

The supreme law of the land now, therefore, laid a public duty upon state executive authority to deliver up fugitive criminals but had left state authority unencumbered with specific instructions for discharging its constitutional obligations relative to fugitive slaves. Congress preserved this distinction when it enacted the statute of February 12, 1793. There are indeed few instances of Congress more faithfully abiding by the decisions of the framers of the Constitution. In doing so, however, Congress also inevitably reproduced for posterity the comparison inherent in the Constitution of a slave with a horse—of men with beasts. In view of the subsequently increasingly separate histories of fugitives from justice and fugitives from labor, beginning with the Big Beaver Creek murders and ending with civil

---

of encouraging slaves to leave their masters and mistresses. The words are these: No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due. This is one of the necessary protections that the New Constitution affords to the inhabitants of one State, against the laws that may be passed in this or any other State, from the influence of the abolition society or their adherents, who seem to be disposed (to use their own words) to rob their fellow-citizens of all their property in slaves." *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, XXVI, No. 1313, Saturday, Feb. 28, 1789.

<sup>53</sup> Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (4 vols., New Haven, 1937), II, 443.

<sup>54</sup> Compare the provisions respecting fugitive criminals and fugitive servants in Section 8, of the New England Confederation. Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *Federal and State Constitutions, Charters and Other Organic Laws, 1492-1908* (7 vols., Washington, 1909), I, 77 f.

<sup>55</sup> H. M. Henry, *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina* (Emory, Va., 1914), pp. 122-23. See also John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore, 1896), p. 36; William O. Blake, *History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, Ancient and Modern* (Columbus, 1858), p. 377.

<sup>56</sup> Farrand, II, 443, 451.

war, would not our basic law have been better and our justice more humane if both types of fugitives had been given the same constitutional and statutory status, subject alike to the clemency and discretion of the executives of the several states?

*University of Michigan*

# German Economic Relations with Southeastern Europe, 1870-1914\*

HENRY CORD MEYER

A NUMBER of books and articles discussing the relationship of imperial Germany with Austria-Hungary and southeastern Europe between the years 1870 and 1914 employ such terms as "Berlin-to-Bagdad," "*Drang nach Osten*," or "*Mittleuropa*." Often these works tacitly assume, or state directly, that German policy in that era sought to fulfill a *Mittleuropa* dream such as appeared to be realized during the First World War.<sup>1</sup> This article seeks to examine the validity of such an interpretation by appraising the amount and character of German economic activity in Middle Europe before 1914.<sup>2</sup> It concludes that the wartime *Mittleuropa* policies and ideas of such writers as Friedrich Naumann, writing in 1914-15, were, economically speaking, rooted in the necessities of the war itself rather than in any long-range or logical prewar planning to that end.

Many writers have expressed the conviction that the wartime *Mittleuropa* was firmly rooted in the assumptions of the Zollverein and in the ideas of such theorists as List and Bruck.<sup>3</sup> Some authors have interpreted

\*This article is part of a larger research project on the *Mittleuropa* movement in Austria-Hungary and Germany during the First World War. I gratefully acknowledge aid from the Social Science Research Council, 1945-46, and from Claremont College, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Pacific Coast Committee for the Humanities (A.C.L.S.) who made possible a summer of research in Europe in 1948. [After careful consideration, the historians on the staff of the Committee on Public Information in World War I accepted Naumann's volume on *Mittleuropa* as an unofficial exposition of prewar German policy. This scholarly article traverses that view. The editor of the *AHR*, who accepted it in 1917-18, takes a personal satisfaction in publishing this reappraisal. G.S.F.]

<sup>1</sup> Note, for instance: "This conception [*Mittleuropa*] inspired the Austro-Prussian alliance of 1879, the eastern journey of William II in 1897, the Bagdad Railway concession of 1899, the annexation of Bosnia in 1908, and Turkish intervention in the European conflict of 1914." *Larousse du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1931), IV, 1908. Among other works see F. Lee Bennis, *European History since 1870* (3d ed., New York, 1950), pp. 75-78; Willy Becker, *Fürst Bülow und England, 1897-1909* (Greifswald, 1929), pp. 1-2, 51; John Bakeless, *The Economic Causes of Modern Wars* (New York, 1921), pp. 158 ff.; Joseph S. Roucek, ed., *Central-Eastern Europe* (New York, 1946), p. 5. Much good economic detail is presented in the unpublished thesis of M. L. Flaningham, "Some Economic Aspects of German Eastward Expansion, 1900-1914," University of Illinois, 1940, but the work rests upon assumptions differing from those underlying this research.

<sup>2</sup> The expression "Middle Europe" as here used refers to the Continental area of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkans as of 1914. For German economic activity south of the Bosphorus see W. O. Henderson, "German Economic Penetration in the Middle East, 1870-1914," *Economic History Review*, XVIII (1948), 54-64.

<sup>3</sup> Note Friedrich Naumann, *Mittleuropa* (Berlin, 1915); Heinrich von Srbik, *Mittleuropa* . . . (Weimar, 1938); Erwin Wiskemann, *Mittleuropa* . . . (Berlin, 1933); Friedrich Lenz, *Friedrich List* . . . (Berlin, 1936); Ernst Jäckh, *Friedrich List als Orient Prophet* (Berlin, 1909);

the political and economic programs of Bismarck and William II as a confirmation and continuation southeastward of these earlier trends.<sup>4</sup> While space does not permit a critical examination here of these views, it is enough to recall the significant change in Bismarck's aggressions and diplomacy when the objectives of 1871 had been gained. Subsequently Germany's economy developed in directions and proportions that relegated the limited, Continental objectives of List and Bruck to obsolescence. Bismarck's program for mid-European political stability was not formulated to pre-empt the area for German economic expansion.

During the seventies, as Berlin and Vienna turned to protectionism they also veered away from each other. The slump of 1873-74 dictated protection to the vulnerable young Austrian industrial economy; a combination of influences produced the German tariff of 1879. These measures caused various reactions in Austria. Representatives of four major Austrian business associations met in Prague in November, 1879, to debate how best the two protectionist monarchies might get along with each other. Only a few Austrian enterprises faced serious German competition at that time (iron and steel, machine manufacture, and other metal fabrication); producers in all other fields favored varying degrees of economic rapprochement with the Reich.<sup>5</sup> Other Europeans, free traders and protectionists alike, considered projects of mid-European economic integration as furthering their respective causes during the late nineteenth century. These discussions were launched by a French free trade advocate, G. de Molinari, who in 1879 suggested an economically unified *Europe centrale* comprising France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland.<sup>6</sup> This customs union was advocated as a step toward world peace and prosperity by gradual abolition of tariff barriers. Agrarian congresses in Berlin (1880) and Budapest (1885) debated the issue in a similar sense. (German agrarians were soon to become very sensitive to competition.) One of the economists enthusiastically acclaimed at the Budapest meeting was Lujo Brentano. This German free trader had just published an analysis indicating a strong trend in the world toward a few huge economic regions, each dominated by a major

---

Richard Charnatz, *Minister Freiherr von Bruck: Der Vorkämpfer Mitteleuropas* (Leipzig, 1916); and references ranging from a chapter to a sentence in a host of other works.

<sup>4</sup> I deal with these interpretations in my forthcoming study of the *Mitteleuropa* movement. French and Slavic writers predominate in this *Drang-nach-Osten* school, which I hope also to discuss in a subsequent article.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Dehn, *Deutschland und Orient in ihren wirtschaftspolitischen Beziehungen* (2 vols., Munich and Leipzig, 1884), II, 40-49.

<sup>6</sup> "Union douanière de l'Europe centrale," *Journal des économistes*, 4th Ser., V (1879), 309-18.

power. Accordingly he had stated that Germany's only hope for securing ample markets and sources of raw materials lay in a customs union of the two monarchies and the Balkans.<sup>7</sup> Austrian commercial and industrial circles demonstrated a growing interest in some kind of economic *Mitteleuropa*. In 1880 a group of Bohemian industrialists circulated a memorandum advocating a common German-Austrian tariff policy toward western Europe with differential tariff protection for Austria. Viennese economists and press echoed these suggestions.<sup>8</sup> In 1885 the Troppau chamber of commerce circulated a questionnaire among other chambers in Austrian and German cities seeking opinions on the desirability of such a union. Most replies from Austria favored the project. Answers from Germany, though phrased in friendly platitudes, showed little constructive interest.<sup>9</sup> As a result of the Bismarckian formula for political unity and the relatively free conditions of economic growth, Germans were turning gradually but distinctly away from mid-European interests toward the far richer political and commercial prospects of *Weltpolitik*. Brentano was, after all, not a spokesman for his times.

By sharp contrast, most Austrian-German businessmen and politicians were increasingly concerned after 1867 by their loss of control in Hungary and the awareness also that in Austria their domination was insecure in the face of the rising Slavic tide. Accordingly their economic efforts were divided between expanding Balkan-Levantine commerce, satisfying the Continental demand for luxury goods, and shoring up their economic bastion against the encroachment of Slav and Magyar. Closer ties with Germany would have given the Austrian-Germans measurable strength in their economic contest with the Czechs and in the enervating decennial *Ausgleich* negotiations with Budapest. Such economists as Phillipovich, Bazant, and Peez, and the politicians Plener and Pernerstorfer formulated their ideas with these factors clearly in mind.<sup>10</sup> Reich-Germans had no such compelling reasons to seek out Austria-Hungary.

When the German chancellor Caprivi came to power in 1890, he faced an economic depression at home and prospects of rising tariffs in several nations constituting important German markets. His was the axiom: "We

<sup>7</sup> "Über die zukünftige Politik des Deutschen Reiches," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, IX (1885), 1-29; Lujo Brentano, *Mein Leben* . . . (Jena, 1931), pp. 123-24.

<sup>8</sup> Albert Schaeffle, *Die Grundsätze der Steuerpolitik* (Tübingen, 1880); Dehn, pp. 46-49.

<sup>9</sup> Alfred Zimmermann, *Die Handelspolitik des Deutschen Reiches, 1871-1900* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 151-52.

<sup>10</sup> J. v. Bazant, *Die Handelspolitik Österreich-Ungarns, 1872-92* (Leipzig, 1894); A. v. Peez, *Zur neuesten Handelspolitik* (Vienna, 1895) and *Die Aufgaben der Deutschen in Österreich* (Vienna, 1906); Ernst Plener, *Erinnerungen* . . . (Stuttgart, 1921); Hermann Münch, *Böhmische Tragödie* . . . (Brunswick, 1949), *passim*.

must export either goods or men."<sup>11</sup> The subsequent "Caprivi Treaties" sought to establish more stable conditions for German exports. The first pact was concluded in 1891 between members of the Triple Alliance; later treaties included Switzerland and Belgium. Further agreements were concluded on similar principles of reciprocity with Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. In some Reich-German circles this mid-European commercial treaty "system" was hailed as the beginning of a new era, but from the outset it was attacked by the agrarians. The powerful *Bund der Landwirte* was founded in 1893 specifically to conduct a relentless campaign against the treaties.<sup>12</sup> It is doubtful if Caprivi was thinking toward a mid-European customs union. Though seen in its first stage as economic solidification of the Triple Alliance, the mid-European aspect of the treaties lost strength as Russia was included and as German trade continued to expand throughout the world. Instead of leading to an economic *Mitteuropa*, the "Caprivi System" was abandoned by 1906.

Reich-German interest in mid-European economic plans diminished as world trade grew.<sup>13</sup> During the prewar decade the major expression of such remaining interest manifested itself in the *Mitteuropa* economic societies. The first of these was established in Berlin in 1904 by Julius Wolf, an Austrian-German businessman. Since projects for mid-European customs unification had been sterile, the societies tried to internationalize forms of economic contact by persuading nations to adopt similar methods and laws of trade, transport, and communications. By 1914 member societies existed in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium. Practical results of their efforts to that time were limited to achieving some simplification of banking procedures and customs formalities between Berlin and Vienna.<sup>14</sup> The societies had no effect upon German foreign policy, though the frustrated Pan-Germans were apprehensive lest Berlin come under the influence of the theoretical economists and give way to some form of economic internationalism.<sup>15</sup>

Aware as we are of a dominant German interest in Middle Europe since 1914, it has been difficult to realize that quite recently Reich-Germans did

<sup>11</sup> Reichstag address, Dec. 10, 1891; E. Francke, "Zollpolitische Einheitsbestrebungen in Mitteleuropa während des letzten Jahrzehnts," *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, XCI, i, (1900), 187-272.

<sup>12</sup> Pauline Anderson, *The Background of Anti-English Feeling in Germany, 1890-1902* (Washington, 1939), pp. 132-55.

<sup>13</sup> See Karl Kresz, *Die Bestrebungen nach einer mitteleuropäischen Zollunion* (Heidelberg, 1907).

<sup>14</sup> The activities of the societies are covered in detail in the seventeen volumes of the *Verhandlungen des mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftsvereins* (Berlin, 1905-17).

<sup>15</sup> Heinrich Class, *Zwanzig Jahre Alldeutscher Arbeit und Kämpfe* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 224.



not consider central and southeastern Europe a primary field for their economic expansion. Regardless of the wild dreams of Paul Dehn in the eighties,<sup>16</sup> Pan-German pamphlets of the nineties,<sup>17</sup> or the momentary sentimentality of Friedrich Naumann,<sup>18</sup> or even widespread popular German misconception of "*unser Bagdad*,"<sup>19</sup> German economic expansion after 1890 was increasingly and primarily in terms of an inter-related world-wide pattern and was vitally dependent upon the sea. This fact will emerge from an analysis of (1) German investment policy, (2) the growth and diversification of German trade, (3) the movement of German trade to the Near East.

During the age of imperialism German investment capital was not completely a fluid agent responding alone to optimum conditions of safety and return. Considering her vigorous internal growth after 1870, Germany pursued a remarkably energetic policy of foreign lending; there were indeed "two needs for every Mark."<sup>20</sup> More than Paris or London, Berlin often influenced the trend of capital export both in type and in destination.<sup>21</sup> The kaiser and the foreign office were in private and unofficial, yet direct, contact with major banking and commercial executives; consultations were often held on the political significance of loans and investment.<sup>22</sup> Accordingly lenders favored those regions enjoying official favor. "The German government found tasks for German capital to perform; that was the most important way in which it influenced the course of German investment."<sup>23</sup>

In 1914 more than twice as much German capital was placed in enemy nations as in areas later occupied by German troops.<sup>24</sup> Until 1895 capital had flowed largely into Middle Europe, the Near East, Russia, and somewhat into the Americas. Later, after continual defaults and losses in Danubian and Mediterranean nations, investment was focused more heavily overseas.

<sup>16</sup> Dehn, *Deutschland und Orient*, *passim*. By 1900 Dehn had become a staunch defender of Prussian agrarian interests against the very canals he had advocated twenty years before!

<sup>17</sup> Von einem Alldeutschen, *Grossdeutschland und Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1950* (Berlin, 1895). Two decades later Albert Ritter, author of the pamphlet *Berlin-Bagdad: Neue Ziele mitteleuropäischer Politik*, was expelled from the Pan-German League for his unorthodox thinking. See Heinrich Class, *Wider den Strom . . .* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 249-50.

<sup>18</sup> Naumann's *Deutschland und Österreich* (Berlin, 1900) was succeeded by his *Neudeutsche Wirtschaftspolitik* (Berlin-Schöneberg, 1906).

<sup>19</sup> German arm-chair economists were as uninformed here as most arm-chair strategists usually are.

<sup>20</sup> The best general studies are Herbert L. Feis, *Europe the World's Banker, 1870-1914* (New Haven, 1930), and F. Lenz, "Wesen und Struktur des deutschen Kapitalexports vor 1914," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, XVIII (1922), 42-54.

<sup>21</sup> W. H. Laves, "German Governmental Influence on Foreign Investments, 1871-1914," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1927.

<sup>22</sup> Friedrich Thimme, "Auswärtige Politik und Hochfinanz—aus den Papieren Paul H. von Schwabachs," *Europäische Gespräche*, VII (1939), 288-320.

<sup>23</sup> Feis, p. 169.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Turkey alone continued to offer attractive opportunities nearer home. In most areas investment was much less in governmental obligations than in enterprises under German control.<sup>25</sup>

Middle Europe was by no means neglected after 1895, but it was neither the principal sphere of German investment nor was Berlin dominant there.<sup>26</sup> Almost half the German capital in the Balkans was placed in Rumania. In Bucharest, primarily, the Germans had sought to establish a strong economic position with definite political implications; but after 1900 little new capital was added, and by 1914 the venture was clearly not very successful.<sup>27</sup> German investment in Bulgaria was small up to 1900; thereafter it ceased almost entirely until just before 1914, when Berlin and Vienna placed a large loan in Sofia.<sup>28</sup> Berlin was heavily invested in Austro-Hungarian railroads and in all spheres of Habsburg banking and industry. The Reich was by far the most important foreign investment influence in the monarchy, and much of Vienna's half a billion *Kronen* invested in the Balkans and Turkey were placed through Austrian banks, which in turn were interrelated with Reich-German banks. Yet it appears unwarranted to assume that Berlin and Vienna were marching in economic lock-step before 1914.<sup>29</sup> At the outbreak of the war Germany had twenty-four billion marks invested abroad; about one fifth was placed in Middle Europe, another tenth, in Turkey. These were indeed significant areas for the Reich, but their importance did not overshadow the total German, world-wide investment pattern.

Despite mounting international tension, German capital movement still responded to prospects of most favorable *economic* return. Where official pressure was a factor, it showed a marked preference for areas overseas—and Turkey, also, was “overseas,” being almost completely subject to maritime contact and sea power.

German participation in world trade was fostered by an efficient export industry, a highly centralized banking system, and a far-flung network of communications; agrarian protection was no impediment.<sup>30</sup> In that era of relatively free economic exchange the areas which were Germany's principal

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68–80.

<sup>26</sup> Total British investment in the area (in millions Reichsmark) was 430; French investment, 3,800; and German, 3,700. Figures are converted from Feis, pp. 23, 51, 74.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 268–72.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 272–83.

<sup>29</sup> Again, I cannot share the view that German and Austrian wartime interest in an economic *Mitteleuropa* constituted a direct continuation of prewar policies.

<sup>30</sup> Gustav Stolper, *German Economy, 1870–1940* (New York, 1940); F. W. Bruck, *Social and Economic History of Germany from William II to Hitler, 1888–1938* (Oxford, 1938).

markets were not necessarily the sources of her raw materials. The economy of imperial Germany was fundamentally different from that of the Nazis. Trading with prewar Berlin did not require adjustment of a small nation's entire economic structure to a monopolistic German system. Although Russia and Austria-Hungary were important sources of raw materials, the greater proportion of these came from overseas. During the prewar decade German dependence on areas outside the Continent even increased; thus was reflected the "failure" of Caprivi's system.<sup>31</sup> The major markets of the Second Reich were, by contrast, Britain, Russia, the United States, and other Continental nations.

Both before and after the First World War, alarmists and analysts alike, in Germany and abroad, often interpreted statistics of Reich trade with Middle Europe and Turkey more dramatically than seems warranted. Granted the fact of obvious growth, the increase is often magnified out of all proportion (and then given undue political significance) by listing trade figures with individual nations while ignoring the total growth of German commerce. Such analyses also sometimes ignore the relative positions of others nations in competition with Germany.

It would seem the more valid method to test the significance of commercial factors in terms of percentages of total trade. Such a view does not disregard the fact that individuals or groups representing only a tiny fraction of a nation's total trade or investment have exerted political pressure of great significance, particularly in an era of sharp and increasing trade rivalry.<sup>32</sup> Because Britain was facing some of her sharpest competition in the Balkans and Near East, the view could gain favor that here were areas of primary concern to Germany. The much more important fact that Berlin and London were each the other's best market went virtually unrecognized, at least in terms of political repercussions.

Seen in this larger frame of reference, Germany's trade with Austria-Hungary was of less importance to her in 1913 than in 1892.<sup>33</sup> Although

<sup>31</sup> F. F. Legueu, *La politique commerciale de l'Allemagne depuis 1914* (pub. dissertation, University of Paris, 1923), pp. 13-15; A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815-1914* (Jena, 1920), p. 394.

<sup>32</sup> It will be recalled what tremendous influence the Lynch Brothers exerted in the Bagdad Railway question and how they were motivated by the threat of competition to their navigation company on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. In 1914 a German economist warned businessmen that in eyeing Turkey alone they were developing a serious economic myopia. Gustav Herlt, "Die Türkei in der Weltwirtschaft," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, IV (1914), 81-105.

<sup>33</sup> The following conclusions have been derived from an exhaustive (and exhausting) examination of trade statistics between 1890 and 1914 in these sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*; K. K. Handelsministerium, Statistisches Department, *Statistik des Auswärtigen Handels*; *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom . . .*; and *Statistique générale de la France. Annuaire statistique*.

the monarchy imported slightly more from the Reich in 1913 than in 1892, her exports thither had decreased from 49 per cent to 38 per cent of her total sales.<sup>34</sup> Despite an increase that seemed spectacular to Rumanians, Berlin's trade with Bucharest between 1891 and 1913 fluctuated between 1 per cent and 2 per cent of her total commerce. Seen from Bucharest, Rumania's percentage of exports to Germany declined sharply in the period and imports from Berlin rose slightly.<sup>35</sup> Britain declined even more as a consumer of Rumanian products, while Belgium, Italy, France, and Holland rose sharply.<sup>36</sup> At first glance Germany appears to make spectacular advances in Bulgaria. Her imports from Sofia rose from 3.7 million marks in 1896 to 10.6 million in 1911; exports thither leaped in the same period from 5.3 million to 24 million. This rate of growth was double and triple that of Germany's total trade. Taken as percentages of the total, however, German imports from Bulgaria fluctuate between .1 per cent and .2 per cent, while the exports show a steady rise from .1 per cent to .3 per cent. From London's view the situation was dismal; British participation in Bulgarian imports dropped from 23.1 per cent to 16.3 per cent of Sofia's total. About half the loss, however, went to Turkish, French, Rumanian, and Belgian increases.<sup>37</sup> Granted that here is evidence of sharp German growth, the situation still does not warrant the opinion that Bulgaria was caught "within the orbit of the Greater Central European economic unit."<sup>38</sup> German trade with Serbia doubled between 1891 and 1913 but never constituted more than .2 per cent of Berlin's total in any one year. Various nations were her major suppliers and consumers.<sup>39</sup> German trade with Greece rose from .1 per cent to .2 per cent of her total between 1891 and 1913, but Athens always remained securely within the British orbit. In summary, the mid-European nations in 1910 supplied 10 per cent of German imports and took 14 per cent of the exports.<sup>40</sup> While there was growing awareness of German influence in the

<sup>34</sup> These figures reflect how the Habsburg Monarchy was becoming more industrialized. By 1914 she had, in fact, ceased to be a net exporter of agrarian products. The Balkans and Near East were, of course, Austria's most vital markets.

<sup>35</sup> See C. G. Antonescu, *Die rumänische Handelspolitik von 1875 bis 1910* (Leipzig, 1915), table V, p. 267.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, table VI, p. 268.

<sup>37</sup> P. Konstantinoff, *Der Aussenhandel Bulgariens* (Zurich and Leipzig, 1914), tables VIII, X.

<sup>38</sup> This statement from Flaningham, p. 84, lumps the German and Austro-Hungarian statistics into one and assumes a united drive. Yet, just before the war, at least one economist was arguing that Germany and Austria-Hungary ought to combine their commercial policies in southeastern Europe and Turkey and cease being such sharp competitors. See Geza Lukacs, *Die handelspolitische Interessengemeinschaft zwischen dem Deutschen Reiche und Österreich-Ungarn* (Göttingen, 1913), p. 44.

<sup>39</sup> Otto Kessler, *Serbiens wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse und deren Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1910), p. 19. K. Stojanovitch, *The Commerce of Serbia: A Historical Sketch* (Rome, 1919).

<sup>40</sup> Werner Sombart, *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft* . . . (7th ed., Berlin, 1927), pp. 526-27.

Balkans, there is no indication that any significant change was occurring in Germany's total trade pattern. That occurred perforce only after the war-time blockade was in effect.<sup>41</sup>

In Turkey, German economic interest grew rapidly after 1890 and became a major factor of German foreign economic policy. Commerce did not reflect this growth as vividly as did investment. Between 1891 and 1913 trade doubled, showing a slightly better performance than total Reich commerce. Still, by 1914 Turkey was by no means in German pockets, despite a serious British trade loss of 50 per cent. In that year Britain had 21 per cent, Austria 16 per cent, France 12 per cent, and Germany 8 per cent of Turkey's trade.<sup>42</sup> Certainly Turkey and the Near East were extremely important areas for German imperialist expansion. But in spite of German popular enthusiasm for the Bagdad Railway, or international repercussions of the project, there is no evidence prior to 1914 that Berlin was seeking to integrate Turkey with the Reich via some mid-European economic or political scheme.<sup>43</sup> The way German commerce moved between southeastern Europe and the Near East and the Reich illustrates how dependent Germany was upon maritime shipping and how unimportant was the overland route.

Seaways are usually superior to land routes as avenues of commerce. Barring a state of war or blockade, the seaway is free from expensive construction costs, maintenance, taxation, and the varying rates and administrative policies that burden an international railroad. Ships have remained the principal carriers of bulky, low-cost goods. Where rail and ship have competed directly, the Iron Horse has usually commanded only the patronage of goods and passengers for whom speed is a significant factor.<sup>44</sup>

From earliest times the Danube has been available as a trade artery and has had varied use. In 1888 it was supplemented by completion of a through rail line from Constantinople to northwestern Europe. It might appear that "Germany's road to the Near East lay literally as well as figuratively across the Balkan Peninsula."<sup>45</sup> or that "over the land-bridge of her ally . . . [Germany] was pushing towards the Near East," and that the Bagdad Railway "was to offer an exit for our land-locked Reich along the path of least

<sup>41</sup> Between 1909 and 1913, when Germans became increasingly worried about "encirclement," total German imports rose 26 per cent, those from Middle Europe, only 11 per cent; total exports increased 53 per cent, those to Middle Europe, 51 per cent.

<sup>42</sup> Herlt in *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, IV, 85.

<sup>43</sup> This view was popularized in the works of André Chéradame, Ernest Denis, René Henry, Louis Léger, and other authors writing after the turn of the century.

<sup>44</sup> Kurt Hassert, *Allgemeine Verkehrsgeographie* (Leipzig, 1931), II, 30-33.

<sup>45</sup> Edward M. Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway* (New York, 1923), p. 130 (quoting Count Reventlow).

resistance";<sup>46</sup> but traffic responded to economic conditions, not to wishful thinking. Unfortunately for modern economic conditions, the Danube flowed in the wrong direction. Low-cost, bulky agricultural goods faced the expensive up-stream journey with its navigational hazards, excessive Hungarian charges at the Iron Gate, and transshipment in Germany. For industrial goods the down-stream journey required double transshipment and was time-consuming. Further complications arose from varying water conditions, winter ice, and the monopolistic practices of the Austrian Danube Navigation Company.<sup>47</sup> Thus German freight loaded on the Danube was insignificant compared to traffic on the Rhine, Elbe, Oder, or even the Weser.<sup>48</sup> The Danube *was* important for the segmented trade between Vienna and Budapest, Budapest and Belgrade, and in Rumania below the Iron Gate. General Groener, who was given the task in late 1915 of organizing Rumanian grain shipments to Germany, commented that only under blockade could these routes be significant for German trade.<sup>49</sup>

What was later to be popularly known as the "Berlin-to-Bagdad" Railway was begun in the early seventies as a series of construction projects financed by the colorful Baron Hirsch. When at last in 1888 the several Balkan governments had completed the mountainous sections of their lines to link up the level (and profitable) segments built by Hirsch, the railroad was inordinately expensive, poorly constructed, and charged higher rates than any other road in Europe.<sup>50</sup> High hopes greeted completion of the line, but more elemental economic factors soon asserted themselves. In 1889 the Deutsche Levante Linie was founded for the specific purpose of furthering German commerce with the Near East—by sea. The following year this firm, the German railroads, and several express agencies (*Speditiengesellschaften*), organized a co-ordinated service, quoting through rates between any point in Germany and the Near East. South German products espe-

<sup>46</sup> Becker, *Fürst Bülów und England*, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Josef Stoiser, *Wirtschafts- und Verkehrsgeographie der europäischen Staaten* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1912), pp. 72-73; Wilhelm Offergeld, *Grundlagen und Ursachen der industriellen Entwicklung Ungarns* (Jena, 1914), pp. 120-21; Henry Hajnal, *The Danube* (The Hague, 1920). The Austrian firm forced the Bavarian-Württemberg Steam Navigation Co. (shares held by the Bavarian government) to sell out. In 1913 another venture, the Bayrischer Lloyd, was assured of success by the outbreak of war.

<sup>48</sup> G. E. Graf, "Der Donauweg. Geographische Bedenken zu politischen Illusionen," *Neue Zeit*, XXXIV, i (1916), 609-21.

<sup>49</sup> Draft autobiography, Papers of General Wilhelm von Groener, National Archives, Washington, D. C., p. 195. Between 1898 and 1902 some Rumanian petroleum products were shipped to Germany by the Danube, but rising Hungarian dues caused a shift to rail and soon to tankers. See Flaningham, p. 120.

<sup>50</sup> Theodor Bent, "Baron Hirsch's Railway," *Fortnightly Review*, XLIV (1888), 229-39; Moritz Stroell, "Die Handelspolitik der Balkanstaaten . . .," *Schriften des Vereins für Sozial politik*, LI, iii (1892), 63-64.



cially responded to this new *Levantetarif*.<sup>51</sup> A major railway journal commented favorably upon "this unification of rail and sea communications which [gave] promise of achieving what [had] hitherto been so unsuccessfully attempted overland or via the Danube, namely, the creation of new German markets in the Levant."<sup>52</sup> A decade later the *Orientbahn* still carried little more than express, mail, and passengers; the staples of trade moved by sea.<sup>53</sup> By 1905 two more shipping firms had entered the field. At the outbreak of the war the Deutsche Levante Linie alone had a fleet of sixty ships and was carrying goods valued at nearly half a billion marks annually.<sup>54</sup> Thus was the commerce of the Second Reich with the Balkans and Near East clearly a maritime affair and completely vulnerable to blockade.

When the war throttled the flow of raw materials into Germany, there were no alternatives but to use the rail and river routes of Middle Europe as the best possible ones. General Groener found the facilities woefully backward and expended enormous efforts to make them serviceable.<sup>55</sup> Heinrich Herkner, editor of a massive wartime economic symposium discussing mid-European potentialities for Germany, in 1916 saw Germany's only alternative in integration and reorganization of the mid-European transport network; but he recognized this as an expensive and difficult task which only the exigencies of a lengthy war could justify.<sup>56</sup>

One other facet of the problem should be considered: Did German economists and policy makers anticipate the possibility of blockade? Did they seek some measure of mid-European economic integration in response? Again the answer is largely negative. A few economists and political commentators touched the problem. Most significant of these was Gustav Schmoller, whose quarterly review had presented several of the economic projects for mid-European union in the nineties. He agreed with those who saw the world being reduced to a few gigantic economic areas, each dominated by a great power. In 1900 he wrote: "Our existence will be jeopardized as soon as we are no longer able to keep open our avenues of supply, as soon as we can no longer influence with instruments of power

<sup>51</sup> C. Grotewold, *Die deutsche Schifffahrt in Wirtschaft und Recht* (Stuttgart, 1914), pp. 95-96. Even Austrian goods were attracted to this arrangement. See H. Weber, *Der Verkehrskampf Hamburg-Triest* (Heidelberg, 1930).

<sup>52</sup> *Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen*, XIII (1892), 652-53.

<sup>53</sup> For comparative rates see Paul Dehn, *Weltwirtschaftliche Neubildungen* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 303-305.

<sup>54</sup> Grotewold, p. 96.

<sup>55</sup> Groener, Draft autobiography, MS. pp. 448-49.

<sup>56</sup> "Die Zukunft des deutschen Aussenhandels," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XL (1916), 567-68.

those nations from which we draw our foodstuffs and raw materials.”<sup>57</sup> But his answer was not mid-European self-sufficiency. Instead, he advocated a stronger navy, expansion of the German colonial empire, and intensification of home agricultural production. In these efforts he was used by Tirpitz and the influential German Navy League, whose extraordinary agitation between 1895 and 1914 underlined Germany’s destiny as a sea power. A decade later Schmoller’s journal reviewed critically a work dealing with the possible effects of blockade and war upon Germany. It commented that similar British studies were far more competent and that the problem was not being considered adequately in the Reich.<sup>58</sup> Arthur Dix, who was to be one of the first geopoliticians, in 1911 warned that the Reich might not be successful in the gamble for global stakes and suggested she develop her land routes to the Near East to insure availability of supplies in case of war.<sup>59</sup> These names virtually exhaust the list of those who wrote on this problem.<sup>60</sup> The preferred answer was sea power, not *Mitteleuropa*.

In the area of policy-making a different but similarly negative result is evident. Some thought was given in the prewar decade to possibilities of economic mobilization. A few military men were willing to consider the question. On occasion General von Bernhardt sounded that note.<sup>61</sup> General von Moltke in 1909 suggested that some food and raw materials be stock-piled, but the project was rejected as being too expensive.<sup>62</sup> Most military men simply refused to consider the problem of blockade as pertinent to their conception of Continental war.<sup>63</sup> German naval circles restricted their view of blockade, or were confined in it, to fleet problems.<sup>64</sup> Once the war was

<sup>57</sup> Clearly, Schmoller misunderstood how much “influencing” Germany was doing in such countries as the United States, Russia, or Britain! Quoted in L. Bosc, *Zollallianzen und Zollunionen* . . . (Berlin, 1907), pp. 253–54. Note Schmoller’s *Handels- und Machtpolitik; Reden und Aufsätze* . . . (Stuttgart, 1900).

<sup>58</sup> Review of Henry Voelcker’s *Die deutsche Wirtschaft im Kriegsfall* (Leipzig, 1909) in *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIV (1910), 383–85.

<sup>59</sup> “Geographische Abrundungstendenzen in der Weltpolitik,” *Geographische Zeitschrift*, XVII (1911), 1–18. Note my study, “Mitteleuropa in German Political Geography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XXXVI (1946), 178–94.

<sup>60</sup> Friedrich Meinecke refers to an article of 1898 in *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (Wiesbaden, 1947), p. 14. Note also the concluding comments in Alexander von Peez and Paul Dehn, *Englands Vorherrschaft: Aus der Zeit der Kontinentalsperre* (Leipzig, 1912).

<sup>61</sup> *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben* (Berlin, 1927), p. 385. The general reports a conversation in 1907 with Tschirschky, then German Secretary of State, in which the two agreed that the Reich needed more “elbow-room” in Middle Europe. They discussed the need for “friendly” agreements with Denmark and Switzerland, an alliance and commercial agreement with Holland, and partition of Belgium between Holland and France with the Congo for Germany. Tschirschky thought it all very sensible, but unlikely except in event of a victorious war; he was out of office by August, 1907. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

<sup>62</sup> Max Bauer, *Der grosse Krieg in Feld und Heimat* (Tübingen, 1921), p. 99 n.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39–41, 91–92; Groener, Draft autobiography, *passim*.

<sup>64</sup> Despite the kaiser’s pampering of the German navy, it was never permitted to develop a strong, independent conception of its function. Instead it remained strategically a secondary

under way men of such diverse walks of life as Naumann, Ballin, and Delbrück all commented how much could have been done economically for Germany, had only her military and civilian policy-makers correctly anticipated events.<sup>65</sup>

If the ideas of a single person can ever be taken as the epitome of an age, then those of Friedrich Naumann in respect to this discussion nicely illustrate the juxtaposition of the German attitude toward Middle Europe before and after 1914. Prior to the war his writings on political economy were enjoyed by a wide and generally well-informed circle of readers. As a result of his travels in Middle Europe he was more aware of the problems of the Habsburg Monarchy than most of his contemporaries. He knew of desires in Vienna and Bohemia for some closer economic tie with Germany, and for a brief time he favored the idea. Still, his major concern was for Germany's position as a world power, and here he urged continued expansion of overseas trade, development of tropical colonies, and a powerful navy. Naumann had read List, Paul de Lagarde, and Karl Jentsch before the war, and this was his reaction to them in 1905:

Everyone knows that such a course [German expansion into southeastern Europe] could not be pursued without serious political developments. These complications would have such unpredictable results that no German statesman would take the responsibility of turning the imagination of the German people in this direction. . . . Do we really have the ability to colonize Slavic lands as successfully as our forefathers did centuries ago? When one hears the Prussian *Landtag* debates on the Polish question or reads of the conflict over language laws in Austria-Hungary, one doubts if our nature and methods qualify us to direct our foreign and agricultural policies so as to bring new life into southeastern Europe. One comes to the conclusion that we Germans, in spite of our growing population, have nothing new to find in Slavic lands and that the existing European frontiers must be maintained.<sup>66</sup>

A decade later, under the impact of the blockade, Naumann penned these words: "*Mitteleuropa* is the fruit of war. We [mid-European peoples] have sat together in the prison of our war economy; we have fought together; let us henceforth live together."<sup>67</sup>

---

force, subject to planning in terms of land forces. Groener reflects this situation well in his Draft autobiography.

<sup>65</sup> Friedrich Naumann, *Die deutsche Sache, die deutsche Seele: Zwei Vorträge . . .* (Berlin, 1917), pp. 16-18; Bernhard von Bülow, *Memoirs* (London, 1932), III, 173; Clemens von Delbrück, *Die wirtschaftliche Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914* (Munich, 1924). See also, Germany, Reichsarchiv, *Der Weltkrieg, 1914 bis 1918. I. Kriegsrüstung und Kriegswirtschaft* (Berlin, 1930), 336-416.

<sup>66</sup> *Die Politik der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 16-17.

<sup>67</sup> Friedrich Naumann, *Mitteleuropa* (Berlin, 1915), p. 263.

Thus Naumann, whose utterances on *Mitteleuropa* in 1915 have been so freely accepted as an interpretation of past policy, was really seeking to orient Germany toward the future—a future radically altered by the effects of an unanticipated military and economic situation.

*Pomona College*

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General History

IDEAS AND MEN: THE STORY OF WESTERN THOUGHT. By *Crane Brinton*. (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1950. Pp. ix, 587. \$6.00.)

MR. Brinton offers this contribution to general education as an essay in "intellectual history," which is for him "something more and less than a record of the achievements of the great minds in the fields of noncumulative knowledge." Intellectual history tries to find "the relations between the ideas of the philosophers, the intellectuals, the thinkers, and the actual way of living of the millions who carry the tasks of civilization." It thus oscillates between the history of philosophy and social history. It is not the former, for it has no interest in the precise analysis of thought, and not the latter, for it is concerned with opinions and attitudes, not actions. Mr. Brinton clearly owes much in his conception to James Harvey Robinson, but he is trying to deal with wider groups than Robinson's "intellectual classes." He resembles Robinson also in knowing his own mind: "An intellectual history is inevitably in part a series of private judgments made by the man who writes it."

*Ideas and Men* is in fact a critical discussion of the opinions held in our Western tradition on "the Big Questions": cosmological—under which head Mr. Brinton lumps all general philosophical ideas—and ethical. Since it consists almost entirely of interpretation, and takes for granted and hence omits almost all facts, it presupposes a knowledge of the main outlines of the history of thought. And like all such intelligent interpretation, its value is greatest, certainly less misleading, if the reader already knows something about what is being judged. The volume is offered as a "guidebook," a companion to reading in the sources; without them, it could easily become "Ideas and Mr. Brinton." There is an excellent and very forthright critical book list of some twenty pages; the text is just what a provocative teacher would supplement these readings with. The emphasis is heavily on "noncumulative knowledge." While the impact of cumulative or scientific ideas is made clear, at least down to the nineteenth century, the only scientific theories dealt with since Newton are, aside from Darwin's, those of Pavlov, Freud, and Pareto. Indeed, so heavily is the volume weighted on the side of appraisal and judgment, so much knowledge does it assume not only of general history but even of the course of intellectual history, that although its explanations are simple, clear, and often rather painfully elementary, it is difficult to imagine its use as a beginners' textbook—save, perhaps, for Harvard students.

Mr. Brinton's judgments are based on familiarity with the most recent scholarship—though, surprisingly enough, he still accepts the hoary myth of Galileo

and the Leaning Tower. They are about what would be expected of a present-day academic liberal—sprightly rather than unconventional, and informed by the ability of the born teacher to bring out modern parallels. The author is committed to stating the beliefs of the average man in various cultures, but he has an American distrust of Teutonic efforts at periodization and *Zeitgeist*, and he constantly emphasizes the “multanimity” of all Western thought. Thus he prefers to examine the Jewish, Hellenistic, and Roman “elements” in later classical culture, and to treat humanism, Protestantism, and rationalism as “constituent parts” of the transition from the medieval view of life to the eighteenth-century view, rather than as movements or periods. That style so beloved of Continental scholars, the baroque, does not figure here: the seventeenth century is the last stage in a transition to eighteenth-century rationalism, which, “though modified in the last two centuries, is still at bottom *our* view of life, especially in the United States.” The nineteenth century appears as the further development of Enlightenment ideas; romanticism figures but briefly, and in it as in all post-Enlightenment thought the emphasis is strongly on the elements of continuity with that first formulation of the modern point of view.

The pattern of values underlying this appraisal of course colors the whole of Mr. Brinton’s treatment of religion. He makes it clear that he is attempting “to study Christianity from the outside, from a position that denies the *existence* of the supernatural”—that is, from a non-Christian point of view, for “the core of Christian faith, the belief in the existence of the supernatural . . . *involves rejection of naturalistic and historical explanation*” (Brinton’s italics). Perhaps his most original chapter is his treatment of Protestantism and its spectrum from this point of view. He shows little interest in further Christian developments after the establishment of the Heavenly City of the Enlightenment. But following a conventional analysis of Communism and nationalism as “surrogates” for Christian faith, he concludes: “These newer faiths do not have the richness and depth of awareness of what human beings are really like that the older religions have; they are therefore not as able as the older religions to cope with the problem of human relations in a time of troubles. . . . Somehow, democracy, if it is not to return wholeheartedly to Christianity, must take on the cure of souls.” “The Enlightenment may well be due for even more bitter attacks than those it received from the romanticists of Wordsworth’s day. Yet one finds it very hard to imagine the average American—or indeed the average European—in quite the mood of sensitive, high-minded, world-embracing despair that has come over the vanguard of Western intellectuals.”

Like James Harvey Robinson, Mr. Brinton confesses, “You may write me down as born in the eighteenth century.” And like Robinson also, the central problem around which he organizes all his post-Enlightenment material, in his last four chapters, is the extent to which reason may still be considered a motivating force in human life. The twentieth century is treated under the head



of "The Anti-Intellectual Attack," by which he means the questioning not of the value but of the strength of intelligence. And his basic position is that "the anti-intellectual . . . is in a sense the true heir of the Enlightenment, is at bottom a believer in the power of thought to make man's life here on earth a better one." The issue is between liberal democracy with its faith in education and the analyses of Pavlov, Freud, Nietzsche, the semanticists, the logical positivists—"they were not, in their practice, moral cynics or nihilists. They simply took values as not to be thought about profitably, a point of view annoying to those brought up in prevailing Western traditions, which have tended to hold that some judgments about morals and aesthetics are truer, or at least make more sense, than others." The greatest of all the critics of the liberal faith, it appears, is Pareto. And the answer is a "pessimistic, realistic democracy without belief in the supernatural," as "very cogently" argued by A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., in his *The Vital Center*. "Such a democracy would demand more of its citizens than any human culture has ever demanded. Were its demands met, it might well be the most successful of cultures."

The volume makes no pretense at analyzing what the major thinkers really thought. "Many of the judgments on professional philosophers made in this book are from the point of view of the professional philosopher hopelessly wrong-headed." Yet most of the identifiably factual errors are to be found in the brief statements of the positions of such thinkers. It would surely be better to avoid such statements entirely—as is done with Spinoza, who "reached quite as far into the intense inane as ever Plato did"—than to attribute views the precise opposite of those a man actually held. Plato is any man's game. But it is hardly illuminating to say that for Aristotle, "Form, which is really mind or spirit at work in this world, transforms matter into something that has life and purpose." And it is just a boner to state that Aristotle's God "started the universe off on its puzzling career." Kant, for instance, would be quite surprised to learn that "understanding (*Verstand*) could give us only contingent, changing, uncertain judgments," and, having spent his life attacking moral intuition views, to hear that "*practical reason* tells us infallibly through our moral intuition what is right and wrong in a given situation." Mr. Brinton is provocative but hardly at his best when dealing with philosophical thought. Fortunately he is much more at home in the political theory he properly emphasizes in the philosophers.

But Mr. Brinton so modestly labels his opinions as merely his own, and so engagingly invites the reader to make up his own mind, that one can indeed argue but hardly quarrel with most of his judgments. He of course succeeds no better than anyone else in really reaching the mind of the "ordinary man," certainly for the centuries preceding the invention of printing. And after the eighteenth century he concentrates so exclusively on the political problem of "anti-intellectualism" that one gets a little the impression of a study rather narrowly

directed toward the contemporary crisis—or is it the crisis of the nineteen twenties, since which few ideas have been added on either side?

Yet who could quarrel seriously with Mr. Brinton's central thesis, that "the most plausible explanation of the comparative failure of the ideals of democracy and progress lies in the overestimation their holders made of the reasonableness, the powers of analytical thought, of the average man today; that therefore all interested in man's fate should study with great care the way men actually behave, the relation between their ideals and their acts, their words and their deeds; finally, that this relation is not the simple, direct, causal relation most of us were brought up to believe it is"? And who would care to deny seriously: "There is a very strong current indeed in the Western tradition that refuses to accept the thesis, which has cropped up every now and then in Western history from the sophists to the logical positivists, that there is no use reasoning about men's morals and tastes, about their *wants*. In spite of popular sayings like 'there's no disputing about tastes' and assertions like 'might makes right,' Western men reject the belief that values are the mere random outcome of conflicting human desires. This rejection is in itself a major fact." Though born in the eighteenth century, one can still be, at least in an American university, as Mr. Brinton confesses, "not too uncomfortable—not at any rate schizophrenic in the mid-twentieth."

*Columbia University*

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.

AN ESSAY FOR OUR TIMES. By *H. Stuart Hughes*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. 196. \$2.75.)

MR. Hughes thinks that most of us in the Western world and especially the "average literate American" are still living in the nineteenth century, and he seeks to bring us up to date and adjust us to the revolutionary ideas of the present century. The distillation of these ideas, as presented in the first part of the *Essay*, irreverently reminds me of the procedure of Gilbert and Sullivan by which you "take of remarkable people in history all that is fusible, melt 'em all down in a pipkin or crucible, set 'em to simmer and take off the scum, and the Heavy Dragoon is the residuum." Into Mr. Hughes's crucible go Freud, Erich Fromm, Lenin, Georges Sorel, Henry Adams, Spengler, Toynbee, Proust, Joyce, Thomas Mann, Gide, Kafka, and Sartre. And the residuum that comes out is no laughing matter. "The primary role of the irrational and unconscious" has now gained "general recognition." Marxism "fits the realities of our time." Survival of traditional Western civilization is "highly dubious," and Toynbee's occasional optimism about a religious revival is "fantasy." Our age is "neurotic," and its morality, having lost the earlier sanctions of religion and reason, is now simply "relative."

In the light, or rather the gloom, of this contemporary thought, the descrip-

tion of the current international scene, in the later parts of the *Essay*, is appropriately somber. The world outside the United States, we find, is headed toward a socialist society and some sort of dictatorship. In Russia, where democracy never had a chance, Lenin's communist dictatorship was "inevitable," and its adoption in Asia "represents nearly pure gain." Moreover, what Lenin is to the East, Sorei has been to the West. For here the latter's "political myth" has stimulated "the manipulation of the mob" in behalf of fascism. No dictatorship of our time, whether fascist or communist, "has been overthrown by purely domestic opposition." And in what is left of "free" Europe, there is now only a "tottering" center between fascism and communism. We might have braced up this center if during the war years we had supported the Socialists. We should not support Conservatives or expect much from Christian Democrats.

Nor, presumably, should we expect too much from the United States. There is an "archaic quality," a "Byzantine-like" conservatism, in American life and institutions. Though we are not likely to embrace either fascism or communism, our assumption of conservative leadership in the world renders us "a kind of elite nation" and requires us to develop an "elite" of our own, which, I should suppose, means aristocracy. A faint glimmer of optimism is discernible about the issue of the current world conflict between us and Soviet Russia; it may be brought to a close, as were the Wars of Religion, by apportioning "spheres of influence on a pragmatic short-term basis and in a spirit of skepticism and mutual disapproval."

This synopsis of major themes in Mr. Hughes's *Essay* is inadequate and may be misleading. The *Essay* is provocative. It is also closely reasoned and very readable, and while one can easily take exception to particular statements and inferences in it, one is sure to be impressed by its critical spirit and flashes of insight. It is an important primary source for the history of our times in that it epitomizes the disillusionment of a large and thoughtful segment of the generation that has grown up after the First World War to fight the Second.

My chief criticism is that Mr. Hughes is too contemporary-minded, too intent upon recent change, too neglectful of historical continuity. The result is myopic. Even our distraught age has a much older and greater heritage than what derives from Marx and Freud. A broader view of it might give us cause for a bit of hope as well as for a jeremiad.

Afton, New York

CARLTON J. H. HAYES

#### UNDERSTANDING HISTORY: A PRIMER OF HISTORICAL METHOD.

By Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xix, 290, vi. \$2.50.)

THE writing of history is old, but understanding history, in the terms of the author of this book, is relatively new. "Historiography has been defined as 'taking

little bits out of a great many books which no one has ever read and putting them together into one book which no one will read' " (p. 24). Though this is an exaggeration as far as the professional historian is concerned it may well be applied to the average beginner. History students, graduate and undergraduate, write term papers, seminar reports, and dissertations, without properly understanding history. Here is a book which can and should guide historical research and the writing of history in proper channels.

Historical method has had many exponents within the last seventy-five years. Only a few of these are really outstanding. Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, though generally recognized as the classic work in the field of historical method, has been of little help to the average neophyte of history writing, unless he could read German. G. G. Berry's translation into English of Ch. V. Langlois and Ch. Seignobos' *Introduction to the Study of History* proved of great value to the American student of history for many years. Five years ago Gilbert J. Garraghan's *A Guide to Historical Method* appeared, a work which has been referred to as "the most comprehensive treatise on historical method . . . attempted in the English language." To this list of august contributors we now may add Professor Louis Gottschalk's *Understanding History*.

Students and teachers of method in history writing are already indebted to Professor Gottschalk for his former contributions in this field. This debt is now increased. *Understanding History* will serve as a convenient manual to teachers of laboratory courses in history and guide the student who seeks to become a researcher and a writer. Though written "primarily for the student of history in colleges and universities" the author, nevertheless, kept in mind the general reader who desired "to acquire standards of judging historical writing."

The book is divided into three parts. The first two chapters examine the objectives of historians and evaluate historical writing and the relation of historical method to life and learning. The second part, the major part of the book (six chapters), pertains more specifically to methodology and demonstrates the various steps in history research. The last part, on theory of history, deals with numerous problems confronting the writer and the general reader of history books.

The author's three-dimensional concept of history is fundamentally sound, and should prove of great value to the modern historian, and to readers who have had to put up with much "dry-as-dust" history. History, the author states, "partakes of the nature of science, art, and philosophy. As a method, it follows strict rules for ascertaining verifiable fact; as exposition and narrative, it calls for imagination, literary taste, and critical standards; as interpretation of life, it demands the philosopher's insight and judgments."

Under the caption "The Obligation of the Book Reviewer" the author sets up five questions which a serious book reviewer should ask himself. Applied to this book, all five questions—relating to factual details, "frame of reference," style, originality of approach, and ability to satisfy a normal curiosity—must be answered in the affirmative.

The appendix, "Rules for the Guidance of Authors and Translators," prepared by Raymond A. Preston, is a commendable addition to the book.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

DAVID K. BJORK

WAR AND HUMAN PROGRESS: AN ESSAY ON THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION. By *John U. Nef*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 464. \$6.50.)

THIS is in many respects perhaps the most important book that has been published recently. Its intellectual integrity, its humane pathos, its analytical force are exceptional. The title gives only an inadequate indication of its contents: it is at the same time an economic, technological, and cultural history of the rise of industrial civilization. This history is focused on the interconnection between war and industrial and technological progress—a single-mindedness of purpose which breaks through the well-established framework of traditional historiography and opens new insights into the period. This reviewer is not competent to judge the details of Nef's economic and technological analysis and will therefore confine himself to the main thesis of the book and to certain aspects of its development. The limitation of this review is not meant to convey the impression that Nef discusses on the level of generalities, for the value of the book lies to a great extent in the detailed historical analysis, in the wealth of material from economic, social, and military history which supports the argument.

The book is divided into three parts: the "New Warfare and the Genesis of Industrialism" (ca. 1494 to 1640); "Limited Warfare and Humane Civilization" (ca. 1640 to 1740); "Industrialism and Total War" (ca. 1740 to 1950). Nef describes the military strategy and objectives characteristic for each period and analyzes their connection with the prevailing stage of the industrial and intellectual development. The tripartite division of the book indicates the principal argument: during the period ending around 1494, the progress of technology and science had led to the basic discoveries and inventions which made a widespread use of firearms possible. Together with the economic progress in material wealth, this created the basis for the large and violent wars of the sixteenth and of the first half of the seventeenth century. They were followed by a period of restraints on warfare, during which European civilization developed its most humane and promising traits. The Enlightenment and the French Revolution marked the turning point and the beginning of the third period: the same impetus that shattered absolutism, liberated the "common man," and extended the societal wealth to hitherto outcast groups of the population also unleashed the forces which generated total war and a new barbarism. No longer guided by the humane and transcendental values of Christian civilization, technological rationality led to the subordination of man to the ever-growing industrial apparatus, to mass manipulation and mechanization, and to the violent escape from economic, psychological, and emotional suffocation caused by this development.

The principal questions which Nef proposes to answer are: (1) What was the nature of the restraints which, during part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, limited the rapidly increasing potential of industrial society for total war and destruction? (2) Why did these restraints become increasingly less effective during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

The restraints on war during the earlier period of industrial society were first, of course, its limited natural and human resources, which enforced restrictions in the scope and intensity of warfare. However, this was not the only factor, because (as Nef demonstrates by several examples from military history) limitations on the violence and objectives of warfare were also imposed by the military and political leaders even if not required by the prevailing scarcity. Nef finds these restraints in the "improvements of manners, customs, and laws," in the "growth in the influence of rational thought upon politics" (pp. 250-51); a strong drive for the pursuit of delight and beauty rather than efficiency and abundance; and the Christian faith in the transcending value of man.

It is easy to point up the weakness of this argument. The cultural, artistic, and religious tendencies enumerated by Nef have always been compatible with the practice of utmost violence against enemies, outcasts or outsiders; the low development of techniques and resources rather than a more humane social attitude may have been responsible for the greater effectiveness of cultural and religious restraints during certain historical periods. Throughout Nef's book there is a trend to glorify past stages of Western civilization and to minimize the extent to which the underlying population, the weak and the heretic, has always remained untouched by the beneficial and alleviating aspects of Christian culture. However, Nef's interpretation proves valid in so far as it enables him to demonstrate the dialectic of progress: how the very same process which created the preconditions for a civilization without scarcity and repression came to refine and perpetuate—eventually by total war—scarcity and repression.

This demonstration provides the answer to the second question raised above: Why did the restraints of Western civilization become increasingly less effective during its later period? The problem is that of the relation between industrial-technological progress and war and destruction. Nef revises Sombart's thesis that modern war played a prominent part in the rise of modern capitalism and capitalist prosperity. Although it is true that war promoted large-scale industry and machinery, it is equally true that it retarded the progress of industrial prosperity, and that the latter made its greatest strides in regions which were saved the ravages of unlimited warfare (for example, Elizabethan England; the United States). On the other hand, industrial-technological progress, in the societal framework within which it has developed especially since the second half of the nineteenth century, engenders in itself total war and the destruction of its own goal: abundance and a better life. Directed toward ever more quantitative production of commodities under the incentive of profit and toward ever greater efficiency, industrial society began to lose sight of all other goals and to transform



man as well as nature into efficient and exploitable material. Nef discusses the principal aspects of this transformation. First the extension of military service to all able-bodied citizens, and the simultaneous glorification of the soldier. In the period preceding the French Revolution, military service was mainly confined to the "dregs" of society, to mercenaries and brutally conscripted subjects. Paradoxically, the proclamation of liberty and equality of all men by the French Revolution was first realized in the creation of the large citizen armies of the Revolution: "war proved the sphere to which it was easiest to admit all men on something approaching equal terms." The "most immediate tangible result" of Danton's and Robespierre's intercession on behalf of the common man was "to put him into the army" (pp. 310, 311). Beginning with the Napoleonic wars of conquest, the liberated citizen was taught to see the most honorable fulfillment of his purpose in war service—a glorification which became the more absurd the more modern wars required machines and technical skills rather than human activity. Later, the ability to destroy enemy manpower, resources, and cities by remote control eliminated to a great extent the horror of personal killing and weakened the former inhibitions against unlimited warfare. Secondly, training and education for total war were vastly facilitated by "changes in the organs of publicity and in the purposes they were coming to serve" (p. 386). From a means for disseminating authentic information and enlightenment, they were turned into an instrument for advertising and indoctrinating in the interests of the ruling groups. Striving to win and retain an ever larger audience, they engaged in the increasingly successful "search of a common denominator of inanity" which tends to obliterate all distinction between true and false, right and wrong, good and evil. Promoted by the techniques of mass production and communication, this led to a state in which the "common man" is no longer capable of deciding what is his own rational interest. Thirdly, mass production of commodities manipulated by particular national and group interests, and the subordination of all values to the pragmatic norms of efficiency and success, absorbed the utopian elements of creative imagination which had kept alive the promise of happiness, delight, and satisfaction, and made "mere activity" the "justification for existence." Men "contented themselves with the fact that, at any rate, they were marching," and in doing so, they "moved in step with the machines that have come to govern the industrialized economy" (pp. 389 f.). "As growing youths were confronted rudely with the consequences of carrying the personality of Little Lord Fauntleroy into practical life, there was increasing disposition to regard every kind of fancy as an evidence of immaturity, of lack of the crude roughness or the matter-of-fact outlook which were mistaken for maturity" (p. 392). Trained to suspect their dreams and fancies, people became submissive to their victimization and resignation. But they also became "ripe for the uneasy fear, the anger, and hatred which boredom and uninteresting labor breed and which lead to war" (p. 401).

Nef puts the blame too much on the shift of emphasis from quality to quan-

tity, from craftsmanship to the mass production of material wealth. Is not the latter a precondition for the universal realization of the values of delight, beauty, and truth which he praises so highly? But Nef believes that the forces that make for total war, although inherent in the specific development of modern industrial society, can be dominated by the collective will and rational effort of man. For the attainment of this goal, he has little faith in any of the national or international power groups. Not in the politicians and the institutions they represent: "Just as the modern purveyors of news and entertainment make a caricature of the common human being and provide fare for this caricature, so modern states represent only caricatures of the public and the public opinion they are supposed to embody in their politics" (p. 414). Not in organized labor, whose leadership has long since become an integral part of the system of manipulation and profitable performance. Nef questions the very right of the present forms of civilization to defend their existence by means of war: "The only justification for war is the defense of a culture worth defending, and the states of the modern world have less and less to defend beyond their material comforts, in spite of the claims of some to represent fresh concepts of civilization" (p. 412). (This statement is deprived of its full force by Nef's overemphasis on transcendental values. "Material comforts" may well be worth defending unless they are repressive and unjust in themselves, and are sustained by the poverty and misery of whole populations.) He sees the only hope in the "growth of a common community of understanding," not confined to the "Western peoples," but including the "best in the human being, wherever that best may be found, whether it be in Chicago, in Paris, in Mexico, in Moscow, on the steppes, or in some far off African village" (pp. 414, 415). Nef has no concrete suggestion as to how such a community could be established. He relies, as so often throughout his analysis, on a turn of the human mind from the predominance of "the special, the immediate, the practical, the national" to the higher values of the good, the true, and the beautiful. Again, it need hardly be pointed out how evasive this answer is. But if none of the organized powers, institutions, and policies of our time provides a solution, then the uncompromising demonstration of their failure and their guilt itself contributes to a future solution.

Washington, D.C.

HERBERT MARCUSE

GLEICHGEWICHT ODER HEGEMONIE: BETRACHTUNGEN ÜBER  
EIN GRUNDPROBLEM DER NEUEREN STAATENGESCHICHTE. By  
Ludwig Dehio. (Krefeld: Scherpe Verlag. 1948. DM. 8,40.)

"*Wie es denn gekommen ist,*" rather than "*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist,*" is an inevitable postwar question. It is almost equally inevitable that the answer will be accepted more as a document of contemporary intellectual history than as history in the strict sense of the word.

Ludwig Dehio, the archivist at Marburg and editor of the revived *Historische*

*Zeitschrift*, has re-examined the attempts which have been made during the last five hundred years to establish the hegemony of one nation on the continent of Europe. He ascribes the failures of the Habsburg emperors, Louis XIV, Napoleon, and the Germany of William II and Hitler mainly to the strength and policies of the peripheral states, England and later the United States in the west and Russia in the east. Each episode brought a decrease in the power and vitality of the core of Europe with the result that the center of Western civilization is at present completely exhausted, has lost its freedom of action, and its various parts can do no more than choose sides in the coming struggle between the eastern landpower of Soviet Russia and the western seapower, the United States.

*Gleichgewicht oder Hegemonie* is based on vast and profound knowledge and is full of challenging generalizations and analogies—the parallel of Venice and England, of Tilsit in 1807 and the German-Soviet pact of 1939, of the decline of Spain, France, and now Germany, to mention only a few. Despite the author's effort, however, to enlarge upon Ranke's political approach, power politics remain the central theme, with intellectual, social, and economic forces related only incidentally. Moreover, the book leaves the reader with a feeling that in this global struggle for power individuals are helplessly in the grip of historic forces which must inevitably run their predestined course.

This type of determinism has long been a favorite in Germany, whether in victory or defeat. By ignoring the often decisive influence of individuals, it incidentally absolves them of responsibility. As the author suggests himself, at best it may throw some light on what was, but it befogs what should be. It is to be hoped that this approach to history will not fill the intellectual vacuum of post-war Europe.

*Chevy Chase, Maryland*

R. A. WINNACKER

THE STRUGGLE FOR PALESTINE. By J. C. Hurewitz. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1950. Pp. 404. \$6.00.)

SOME problems, political and human among them, have no solution unless one or more factors are changed. Administration of the Palestine mandate to provide a "national home" for the Jews, to protect civil and religious rights of the Arab inhabitants, and to prepare for self-government posed an insoluble problem, particularly after Nazi persecution increased Jewish pressure for immigration. By 1937 the Peel Commission concluded that the mandate was unworkable. Add to this situation the effects of British imperial policies, desires of the Arab states, Nazi propaganda and intrigue, a world war and ensuing great-power tensions, American domestic politics and inconsistency on Palestine, and the complexity of the struggle for Palestine becomes bewildering.

Dr. Hurewitz deals competently with these elements for the years 1936 to 1948, leaving the Arab-Israeli war to a brief epilogue. An introduction recapitulates the mandate's early history. This is the least satisfactory chapter, leaving many

questions unanswered and touching only lightly the original bases of Arab and Zionist arguments. After summarizing the status of Palestine's Arab and Jewish communities in 1936, the author analyzes in detail the progressive breakdown of the mandate and the changing local and world factors that led in 1948 to solution by partition. He delineates the vacillation of British policy, Arab political disorganization, the growth of Arab and Jewish extremism and terrorism, the Zionist domination of the Jewish Agency, and the United Nations' action concerning "an Arab-Zionist contest within an Anglo-American controversy about to be drawn into the Soviet-American 'cold war.'"

Dr. Hurewitz deals most fully with Arab and Jewish politics, their respective factions and shifts in position, and their relations with the British. Since Palestine itself is his focus, the ramifications in Near East and world politics come off second best. Nazi propaganda among Arabs and relations with the mufti of Jerusalem, British imperial strategy, Zionist maneuvers before the United Nations partition vote, for example, are not completely explored. But these are not the center of his story.

The book is outstanding for its unemotional and carefully documented approach. (Thirty pages of footnotes, unfortunately congealed at the end, include Hebrew and Arabic sources, often from periodicals and documents.) Here is an antidote to the usual partisan accounts that generate more heat than light. This is a fact-crammed autopsy on the corpse of the mandate. Dr. Hurewitz is sparing in his judgments, not usually concerned with right or wrong, but with the realism, opportunism, and intelligence of interested parties. He does state that the Arabs had some "incontrovertible arguments"; he condemns the British post-war "resolute execution of an irresolute interim policy"; and he argues that Britain and America might in 1945 have imposed a solution. One would be grateful for further considered judgments and a final summary.

The chief defect of the book springs from this antiseptic approach. The struggle for Palestine is real enough, but the actors are lifeless. In his concern with factions, governments, statements, and partition plans, Dr. Hurewitz slights the human equation. The men who created Israel, or resisted it, or sought compromise, are not flesh and blood. Thus some of the reality is lost. The mass of Palestinian inhabitants appears only vaguely. Events sometimes shrink to nothing. The Jewish massacre of Arabs at Dayr Yasin, for instance, still vivid in the Arab memory, is passed over in a half-sentence.

Despite such drawbacks, the book is unique and valuable. Its 25-page bibliography is uncritical but may be supplemented by the author's bibliographical article in the *Middle East Journal* (January, 1949). Several clear maps are included. The Social Science Research Council deserves thanks for assistance on a sound study.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

## Ancient and Medieval History

ÄGYPTEN UND VORDERASIEN IM ALTERTUM. By *Alexander Scharff* and *Anton Moortgat*. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.] (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1950. Pp. 535. Ln. DM. 18.)

SINCE the last complete presentation of the history of Egypt and the Ancient East in German was published in 1933 and new researches and excavations constantly present new materials, the authors have undertaken to bring to the German public an up-to-date account of our knowledge of the history of this period.

This volume is one of the type which we would call a textbook, appearing in a series of such works adapted for use in courses comparable to our upperclass history courses. Unlike our works of this type, the volume contains no illustrations except two simple maps showing the Nile Valley and western Asia. There are, however, some rather detailed chronological charts, a brief one for Egypt but a rather lengthy one for western Asia.

This book is really two books in one volume. The first 190 pages deal with Egypt and were written by Scharff. The treatment is conventional. The author attempts to incorporate recent material but gives little more than a dynastic, political outline with brief reference to cultural and economic material. Each chapter and section has a brief bibliography at the head of it, but, in many cases, the reasons for listing the works included are not at all clear. The treatment of Egyptian history, fairly full on the earliest period, ends with the conquests of Alexander.

The remaining 280 pages are devoted to western Asia and are the work of Moortgat. The contrast in style, treatment, and emphasis in the two parts is very striking. Moortgat gives no bibliography except in the full bibliographical listing at the end of the volume. His treatment is concerned primarily with cultural history and the text abounds in quotations from literary materials. The style is more rapid, somewhat more sparkling, and the treatment is much more concerned with the problems of historical synthesis. The nature of the material is partly responsible for the difference in emphasis but this is chiefly due, as is evident, to the difference in point of view of the two authors.

The bibliography at the end of the book is a rather complete one, comprising both general works and books and research papers on phases of the history of Egypt and the Near East. Much of the recent work of the past twenty years is listed here, but, frequently, there is little indication that some of it has been used in preparing the text. It must have been extremely difficult, as one of the authors remarks, to keep up with scholarly work in the rest of the world which appeared during the war period. Some of the work of the Oriental Institute, the University of Pennsylvania, of Edgerton, Reisner, and Winlock is listed in the bibliography—some of it is strangely lacking. A not too systematic checking gives one the

impression that recent work by English scholars is utilized more thoroughly than are the fruits of American scholarship. To one who knew Olmstead, it is ironical that his standard charge against European scholars—that they neglected American research—receives here some substantiation since a reasonably careful search revealed no mention of his last, and perhaps his greatest, work.

This is a useful volume. In fact, the synthesis attempted by Moortgat is unusually interesting and, in some parts, very well done.

*University of Missouri*

THOMAS A. BRADY

TEXTES D'HISTOIRE MÉDIÉVALE, V<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By *Robert Latouche*, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Grenoble. [Université de Grenoble, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, II.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. 274. 600 fr.)

THIS brilliant book is the seasoned product of one of France's outstanding contemporary medievalists and should go a long way toward dispelling several of the absurd legends that still cling about the Middle Ages in some scholarly circles. Any American scholar who has not done much with *medievalia* since his college days can brush against some of the live wires of history in this little book to his own great advantage.

The book contains fifty-eight selections taken from forty-four independent historical sources, printed with the best Latin text and an accompanying French translation. Each century from the fifth to the tenth claims at least five selections with eighteen allotted to the eleventh century. Only ten of the forty-four historical sources are available in English and one, Regino of Prüm, called by Thompson "the most substantial work of the second half of the ninth century," is available neither in English nor French except for short excerpts.

Latouche is clearly more representative of the best historical work of the Middle Ages than most of the so-called "source books" in English although perhaps not so diversified. He has only three sources in common with Scott, Hyma, and Noyes (Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, and Einhard). His only common source with Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, is Liutprand's report as ambassador of Otto I to Constantinople. There is no duplication with Webster's *Historical Selections* nor with the recent anthology, *The Portable Medieval Reader* by Ross and McLaughlin, a misnomer for it contains almost nothing before the twelfth century.

The penetrating and scholarly introduction is an admirable summary and explanation of the changes and types of medieval historical literature. In it Latouche gives five ideas basic to his selections: (1) Beginning with the fifth century there is a new perspective, for history is no longer centered in Rome; and with Orosius there is a new ideology. (2) The expression of nationalism in medieval historiography deserves more attention. A Gothic, an Anglo-Saxon, a Lombard



patriotism finds expression in Jordanes, in Bede, in Paul the Deacon, and in the eighth century Nennius wrote his history of the Bretons. Latouche wishes some qualified Frenchman could have written the *History of the Franks* instead of a Gallo-Roman such as Gregory of Tours but cites the prologue of the Salic Law to show that the Franks were animated by a national feeling.

(3) Historical genres change radically. Biography becomes hagiography for good reasons. The word "virtue" goes through a semantic revolution to become equivalent with "miracle," and the lives of the saints become largely collections of miracles. Latouche selects six of these early lives which have permanent value for their psychology or for their interesting and curious details. A portion of the *Liber Pontificalis* is inserted as an example of the many biographies of bishops. The eighth century witnessed the rise of a new genre, the annals. These became widespread throughout medieval Europe and were often precise and remarkably well informed. Latouche shows that the annalists and chroniclers were not always preoccupied with local happenings and show a knowledge of events far afield from their locale although few were as nomadic as Radulphus Glaber. The history of Charlemagne and the last Carolingians could not be written without the *Annales Regni Francorum*, the Annals of Saint Bertin, and in the tenth century those of Flodoard. Richer, monk of Rheims in the tenth century, made good use of Flodoard and other material to write a fascinating history of his own times. Richer was translated in full into French by Professor Latouche and published (1932-1937) in the extremely useful *Collection de textes pour l'étude et l'enseignement de l'histoire* which, after the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, provides the largest number of basic texts for this present volume.

(4) The tenth century saw the extension of historical literature into Germany of which the *Res Gestae Saxonicae* by Widukind, the first royal historian of Germany, and the *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Mersebourg are examples. The German kings, imitating their Carolingian predecessors, had their official historians. Liutprand was that for Otto I and Wipo for Conrad II. With the medieval Germans, history was in no sense a disinterested work but a force utilized by partisans. Latouche shows how the historian Bruno entered the conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV.

(5) When compared with the historical literature of Roman times, that of the ninth to the eleventh centuries shows a surprising diffusion, as can be seen by a glance into the first volume of Molinier (whose thorough revision Latouche advocates). Not only are there many different types and classes of historical literature but the geographical area widens to include, along with all of Europe itself, North Africa, the Holy Land, Poland, Iceland, Greenland, and a very real Netherworld. Latouche includes examples to show this. Good history was also written by laymen, as illustrated by Nithard and Fulk Rechin, count of Anjou.

Each selection is prefaced by a scintillating introduction placing the piece in its historical setting and giving pertinent bibliography. This is a historian's book

and will be of great service in graduate schools to those instructors who want to expose their students to the best medieval historical literature. The book could be of greater use if the selections were longer.

*State University of New York,  
Champlain College*

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON

MANUEL DE DIPLOMATIQUE, FRANÇAISE ET PONTIFICALE. Volume I, DIPLOMATIQUE GÉNÉRALE. Volume II, L'ACTE PRIVÉ. By *A. de Boüard*, Professeur à l'Ecole des Chartes (Paris: Editions Auguste Picard. 1929-51. Pp. 397, 317, 54 plates with 49 p. manual, 34 plates. \$12.00.)

THIS important work, building upon and admirably supplementing Giry's classic of 1894 which was much in need of revision, although well known among specialists has not received adequate attention in this country. With the last portion (XVIII-XXXIV) of the second volume of plates scheduled to appear in 1951, it is time to give this distinguished study a wider recognition among American students of European history.

The author, a well-known pupil of Maurice Prou, to whom this work is dedicated, combines a broad and intimate experience of documents with a ripe maturity of scholarship that enables him to make classifications and significant generalizations, all amply buttressed with ready and pertinent illustrations from manuscript sources. The introduction (pp. 11-57) is perhaps the clearest and most brilliant short account in print of the history of diplomatics and should be required reading for all graduate students in history. It contains a sparkling, bibliographical essay tracing the study of diplomatics from the early Middle Ages through the Renaissance, the work of the Benedictines and Jesuits, the great German archivists of the nineteenth century, ending with an illuminating description of modern methods and problems. The section entitled "Notions fondamentales et définitions" makes clear the scientific basis for the analysis of charters and explains the vocabulary current among diplomatists. This portion can be read with profit by students of English and American history as well.

The primary written sources of history are separated into two classes: narrative sources such as annals, chronicles, biographies, memoirs; and diplomatic sources such as charters, acts, contracts, accounts, judicial writings, registers, cartularies. The former are usually found in libraries; the latter in archives. A further distinction is made in diplomatic sources between "public acts" (Vol. I) and "private acts" (Vol. II), the former emanating from public authorities, especially popes, emperors, and bishops; the latter, usually the more interesting, arising when the authors are private individuals or when acts of public persons or institutions belong by their nature to private law.

This study is a detailed analysis of all types of these diplomatic sources of history, ranging from before the Carolingians to the Renaissance and beyond,

even including in its albums examples of private acts as late as Napoleon. It describes conditions under which charters and acts were drawn up in various centuries, and gives descriptions of chancelleries and the practices and techniques of medieval notaries. There are detailed analyses of types of ink, of paper and parchment, of the formats of documents, and an important study of corrections which have been made upon official and private documents by their medieval authors or by later hands. The methods of cancellations are shown, and anyone who ever has to read an original charter or act will be grateful to Professor de Boüard for his careful analysis of the legal language and terminology employed. Some of the most interesting pages analyze signatures, both autograph and signs manual, accompanied by a wealth of examples and anecdotes from the sources, all combining to make many of the diplomatic documents he discusses intensely animate. His study of seals is thorough and important. Every step in the production of a charter is illustrated not only by copious annotation in the body of the volume but also by well-selected and clearly printed examples in the two large volumes of plates, with accompanying manuals of printed transcriptions.

One of the primary problems facing the diplomatist is that of proving the authenticity of legal documents. Professor de Boüard believes that one can be a historian without knowing diplomatics but no one can be a diplomatist unless he is first a historian, because a knowledge of history is essential for understanding the conditions which made the document or the forgery necessary and for detecting false documents. He estimates that fifty per cent of the extant diplomas of the Merovingian period are false and that fifteen per cent of those from the reigns of the first four Carolingians are likewise false. Some of these forgeries have been detected only in recent years and with modern methods, but most of them were detected by diplomatists centuries ago. In times when so much depended upon written privileges, when vast benefices and estates could be claimed with false genealogies, the diplomatist was in no sense an antiquarian but a highly necessary member of society. The medieval church especially had to protect itself from false charters and privileges at a time when its written sanction was in great demand. The twelfth century was apparently the golden age of forgery, when the forms of the acts were not generally fixed.

Lorenzo Valla has perhaps had too high a place in the general scholarly mind as an early uncoverer of the falsity of certain ecclesiastical documents. Professor de Boüard shows that the Middle Ages worked out for themselves the scientific bases for examining and testing documents. He cites numerous incidents taken from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries where legal papers were officially examined by "experts" who uncovered their false character. Gregory of Tours describes how a donation charter attributed to Childebert II was shown to have a forged signature. In 1074, when the monks of Saint Serge and Saint Aubin of Angers went to law over a piece of property, five abbots chosen as judges called in two diplomatists who examined the charters and discovered falsities. Finally

Innocent III, great from so many angles, became one of the pioneers of scientific diplomacy by establishing the bases for analyzing suspected documents. In his denunciation of forgeries (*De Crimine falsi*) he formulated detailed and precise rules for examining the subject matter, the writing, the style, the manner of attaching seals and for scrutinizing signatures. A wealth of additional examples from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries shows a clear understanding of the science of diplomacy not only in France but in Germany, Italy, and England.

Some of the material in these volumes would be easier to use if, after Giry, it had been put in the form of charts, lists, and statistics rather than in a strictly narrative form. But this is a minor criticism of a sound and usable work representing the latest conclusions in its field, a book which should do much toward humanizing the field of diplomacy for nonspecialists.

State University of New York,  
Champlain College

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON

DIE POLITISCHE STELLUNG DER VÖLKER IM FRANKENREICH. By  
*Erich Zöllner*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Ge-  
schichtsforschung, Band XIII.] (Vienna: Universum Verlagsgesellschaft. 1950.  
Pp. 276. S.34.)

THIS relatively small book, simple in design and appearance, could easily be overlooked by readers accustomed to more pretentious works. It deserves no such fate, for in modest but illuminating fashion it adds to our knowledge of the early Middle Ages. This is done not by the discovery of new facts or the use of documents formerly neglected but by thoughtful analysis of the abundant literature long available to scholars and an examination of the position, nature, and contributions of each of the folk-groups that played a part in the history of Europe after the age of the *Völkerwanderung*. This age long seemed more especially the province of European historians, but recently Dopsch, Pirenne, and, in more popular but equally distinguished fashion, Christopher Dawson have made us all understand how full of meaning it is for Western civilization as a whole. Zöllner's work supplements their contributions, brings together much factual material to support or challenge their hypotheses, and with its full documentation may easily serve as a bibliographical handbook for the literature of the age it examines.

In a preliminary section, for there is no indication of chapters, a review of the works of major writers is given and here the author scrutinizes and evaluates the contributions of scholars like Giesebrecht with his emphasis on political developments of the *Volk*, of von Sybel, for whom evidence of an embryonic *Nationgefühl* explained the collapse of the Carolingian monarchy, of Ficker, who, unlike Zöllner himself, could admit no opposition between Roman and German but found the tension among the German groups. Even after a century of scholarly controversy the battle of conflicting opinions still rages, but the emphasis has

shifted from interest mainly on the collapse of the Carolingian Empire to an explanation of the development of the states that replaced it. A second section is semantic in character. Here close attention is given to the meanings of words and concepts used in the sources and believed to indicate "national" feeling or group consciousness among the various peoples of early medieval times. Students of nationalism might read these pages with profit.

The greater part of the book is reserved for an analysis in separate sections of the position, characteristics, and importance of thirteen folk-groups. Certainly nothing new nor epoch-making is found here, but much pertinent information is arranged in convenient and useful fashion. The Franks and the Romans are accorded most attention and the author's many penetrating observations concerning them and their relations with each other are worth study and consideration. The other groups examined are the Burgundians, the Goths, the Lombards, the Alemanni, the Bavarians, the Thuringians, the Frisians, the Saxons, the Bretons, the Basques, and the Slavs.

The Frankish Empire had no cultural, geographic, or national unity and was in a sense doomed. Zöllner gives considerable attention to the problems arising with the development of the various Frankish states, from the Merovingians to the ninth century, faced with persisting self-interests of the sectional groups they contained. A concluding chapter shows how a new order replaced the old, how even the names of smaller folk-units disappeared with the tendency, found even in Alcuin and Einhard, to adopt terms of larger connotation—German, French, Italian, although not of course with their modern overtones. Zöllner realizes, for example, that no "national" unification of Italy had been attained by the ninth century, but irresistible forces were already there making what was to be Italian rather than Roman or Lombard.

*Northwestern University*

GRAY C. BOYCE

LE SOUVENIR ET LA LÉGENDE DE CHARLEMAGNE DANS L'EMPIRE GERMANIQUE MÉDIÉVAL. By *Robert Folz*, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon. [Publications de l'Université de Dijon, VII.] (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres. 1950. Pp. xxiv, 624.)

THIS is an important book, dealing exhaustively with a theme of which the vital interest was already apparent in the earlier, partial treatment by such scholars as Gaston Paris, Kleinclausz, Calmette, Hoffmann, Lehmann, and Schramm. It is a high achievement at once of labor and of method to have worked thoroughly through the mass of material involved, to have presented with such competence issues and conclusions in so many controversial matters, and so to have traced with clarity the development of the various motifs which were woven into the complex figure of Charlemagne as he survived in the literature, liturgy, and historiography of the medieval German empire.

Complex the portrait is indeed, for Charlemagne, king of the Franks, emperor

of Rome, conqueror of pagan Saxon, Hun, Goth, and Saracen, the armed ally and pious benefactor of the church, apostle of the Christian faith, the giver of laws, the patron of letters, and fountainhead of royal dynasties, became in the memory of succeeding generations not only the ideal fulfiller of these many roles but the founder and very symbol of rights and powers which the conflicting protagonists in the political drama of medieval Europe were to claim for themselves. It had been his achievement to impose a measure of unity and order from the Channel to the Mediterranean and from the Elbe to the Atlantic, and so to present to the contemporary consciousness over and above lesser, more local, problems, the great questions of state, empire, and church. Thus it was to him, as to one who had given an at least temporarily effective answer to these questions, that later rulers and theorists were to turn for authority and justification of their rival policies and claims. M. Folz's book becomes therefore in the main a history of the interpretation in word and act of what I might call the Carolingian precedent, rival interpretations stemming from rival ambitions and powers, interpretations adapting themselves to changing historical circumstance, the figure of Charlemagne remaining ever present in the great controversies of the empire, like some mountain mass conditioning the climate of a whole region, deepening its mark with the passage of time.

One asks at once why Charlemagne, "*de France douce . . . dreiz emperere*," the ruthless conqueror of Saxon Witukind and Bavarian Tassilo, made so deep a mark on Germany. There was not, there could not be, any early cycle of poems in German on the Carolingian theme, nor was Charlemagne ever incorporated in the heroic legends of primitive Germany. Yet already in 884 the *Gesta Karoli Magni* of Notker brings together the themes of an expanding tradition of Charlemagne—the historical tradition rooted in Einhard and the *Frankish Annals*, the popular tradition transmitted to Notker in the tales of his warrior informants and probably embellished by the Balbulus himself, the clerical tradition active in its work of idealization since the lifetime of Charlemagne—themes which in this form were to pass into Germany and there grow in multiple ways into the specifically German tradition of Charlemagne. M. Folz unfolds his rich story in five books, epoch by epoch, treating the smaller chronological divisions in chapters within the books, and there separating the complex theme into the several strands of historical tradition, ecclesiastical legend, popular legend, local legend, and so on, setting them in parallel where they assume of themselves their relative importance, and bringing them all together again in the neat and expressive synthesis of his conclusion.

In the German historical tradition, Charlemagne lived above all as the successor to Constantine in a renovated Roman Empire to which the Ottonians succeeded in 962 and as the embodiment of the imperial idea, an idea conceived as a veritable mission by the German sovereigns in pursuit of which, as M. Folz suggests in one of his longer views, they neglected the pressing need to build



the German state. The image of Charlemagne which was preserved therefore in German historical writings—upon which, in spite of contamination with legend, the *Vita* of Einhard and the *Annales* set an indelible impress—was one enlarged and distorted by the crystallization about it of the controversies as to the juridical basis, the transmission, the nature of imperial authority. In describing the tenor and the course of these controversies, M. Folz shows how Charlemagne survived as a motive force in imperial politics. Toward the end of the period, during and after the reign of Charles IV, when all semblance of reality was evaporating from the imperial idea, he could and did become, just as naturally, the representative of national monarchy, that political growth under which the fact and concept of empire was being smothered.

The "*souvenir*" of Charlemagne thus preserved in the historical tradition is distinguished by M. Folz in his title and in his treatment from "*la légende*," in which he distinguishes further the ecclesiastical legend, the popular legend, and local legend. For all these themes he traces their growth through the years, showing the different and changing emphases, the spreading of Charlemagne's popularity or usefulness until, at the end of the fifteenth century, his memory is cherished by all sorts and conditions of men throughout Germany. Starting from the development given by monastic and academic writings of the early ninth century to the religious qualities of the historical Charlemagne, the ecclesiastical legend progressed in Germany in the original and rapid development which led to the emperor's canonization in 1165. To this tradition was added the French clerical tradition, imported in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Journey to the East*, which, incorporated into the *Vita Karoli Magni* of Aix, maintained the saintly portrait of Charlemagne in German memory until the end of the Middle Ages. Popular legends grew onto the themes of his crusading wars, some of them developing, as at Ratisbon, into a local tradition of which elements seem to have passed into the still insufficiently studied French traditions of Ogier and Auberi le Bourguignon. The popular taste was gratified too by Parson Conrad's rendering into German of the *Chanson de Roland*. Reworked a century later in the *Karl der Grosse* of the Stricker, expanded by later redactors, the theme of his *Ruolandes Liet* is vastly expanded at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the *Karl Meinet*, in which compilation the cross-currents of ecclesiastical, popular, and local legend meet. Other legends grew on the factual foundations of Charlemagne's sojourn in certain localities, of his passage through certain regions, of his ecclesiastical foundations or benefactions. M. Folz deals meticulously with all these: Swabia, Alsace, and the Alpine passes; Liège, Zurich, Ingelheim, and, later, Prague; Aix above all where he dwells with deserved emphasis on the concretization of the legend in the tomb, the throne, the reliquary, and, finally, the imperial insignia held in little less veneration than the holy relics themselves. It is Charlemagne the lawgiver who stamps his lively image on the Frisian tradition; on the Saxons and Swabians too, among whom

in the thirteenth century the local customaries were known as "*Karlen Buoch*." As in northeastern France and in the Low Countries, which set the fashion and in part furnished the means, the imperial and provincial families—the dukes of Brabant, for instance, and Rudolf of Habsburg—were at pains to trace their descent from Charlemagne and presented to their contemporaries and posterity in laboriously compiled genealogies the flattering image of their ancestor.

These manifestations of the dynamic growth of the Carolingian legend are exposed in the histories, the poetic compilations, and in the multitudinous documents and artistic relics fortifying or representing local traditions. It is not possible in so brief a review to give an adequate idea of the density of treatment which M. Folz accords to these. He is concerned throughout his book not only to describe the development of the legend in its content but also to follow its spread from nuclear points at which the initial interest concentrated. So he begins to trace the diffusion of the *Karl der Grosse* by noting the distribution of the forty-odd manuscripts in which the poem is preserved. He is up-to-date in his scholarship and usually cautious and within the evidence in his views. For example, he rightly suspends judgment on the *Turpin Chronicle*, refusing to accept the theories propounded hitherto on insufficient evidence, awaiting the more conclusive results to be expected from the investigations of P. David and A. Hämel. He is equally well informed and properly reserved in his treatment of the *Descripto*, but, rather incautiously, he accepts, on page 241, Mireaux's theory of an Anglo-Angevin form of the *Chanson de Roland*, written about 1157, of which the Oxford MS. would be a representative and the *Ruolandes Liet* a derivative. He has provided in an excellent index a guide to the many historical and literary problems with which he deals, and has paid the same scrupulous care to his proofreading and references.

All the documents studied, as M. Folz reminds us, unfailingly reveal the political ideas of their date. The student of history will find the documents where he expects to find them, in their politico-historical setting. The student of literature will profit by finding those that interest him set in the same perspective from which they cannot be removed without being put out of focus. To his own perspective, defined in the title of his book, M. Folz has remained true in spite of the difficulties. He has not strayed into writing a history of the imperial concept in the Middle Ages, though, for example in Book V, chaps. 2 and 3, Charlemagne remains rather dimly in the background. M. Folz is aware of the difficulty, aware of the danger of making Charlemagne omnipresent. How, for instance, he asks himself, can we determine the precise extent to which Charlemagne presided over the theory and practice of Frederick I's imperial policy? He does not, however, ask, though the question at times does not seem far from his mind, what truly popular element the German memory and imagination contributed to all this clerical activity, what spontaneous affection and veneration grew in German hearts and minds for the figure thus presented to them, for the concepts thus

implanted in their minds. The question must be asked, even though it can be only imperfectly answered; otherwise I could not, for my part, in any degree mitigate the judgment arising from my reading of the book, that the image of Charlemagne treasured through the Middle Ages in the German memory was, in its general aspect, an artificially created symbol of high imperial ambition and, in its detailed traits, the symbol of other ambitions to which it served as the vehicle of more or less generous-minded propaganda. M. Folz has given us from east of the Rhine a view of Charlemagne bestriding the medieval empire like a colossus. The success and value of his accomplishment show the need of further studies giving us views from Italy in the south, from Britain and Scandinavia in the north, and above all a view from the west, from Carolingian and Capetian France, from Paris and Saint-Denis.

*University of California, Berkeley*

RONALD N. WALPOLE

ALCUIN, FRIEND OF CHARLEMAGNE: HIS WORLD AND HIS WORK.

By *Eleanor Shipley Duckett*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xii, 337. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Duckett continues her remarkable series of books which, beginning at the sixth century, have led her readers through the most obscure period of early European history until now we find ourselves, if not yet out of the darkness, at any rate nearing the dawn.

Just as her *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars* led on naturally from *The Gateway to the Middle Ages*, so here we find in the first chapter the link which binds Northumbria of the seventh century to Frankland of the eighth and ninth centuries. Alcuin, who never forgot the training he received at York nor the great traditions of Northumbrian Christianity which he inherited there, carried the influence of Lindisfarne, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth to the Continent and so helped to preserve them from the total extinction with which they were threatened when the Scandinavian invasions of the ninth century brought about almost complete darkness in the north; but even though the great monastic libraries of northern England were almost completely destroyed, Alcuin's enthusiasm for the writings of Bede had helped to spread the fame of the Northumbrian doctor on the continent of Europe and had thus helped to preserve his writings, so that copies of his works dating from the ninth and tenth centuries are common enough in Continental collections of manuscripts where any remains of early monastic libraries are preserved.

A new English life of Alcuin was badly needed. Though some attention has been paid to him on the Continent, American and English scholars have, with a few exceptions, largely neglected him. Levison's great work on *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* has roused fresh interest in the man who did more than anyone else to make relations closer. The history of his life, as

Levison says, "bears witness to the growth of international intercourse and to the existence of a spiritual heritage common to England and the Frankish kingdom."

No one is better qualified to write this life than Professor Duckett. Her previous studies have prepared the way for it, and with the assiduous care that we have come to connect with her work, she has studied all the original records available. Her footnotes and bibliography bear ample witness to the fact that she has missed nothing either in Alcuin's writings or in those of his contemporaries which could throw the least glimmer of light upon his life and work. Nor has she failed to read and critically assess all the important modern literature about Alcuin himself and about his background.

The arrangement of the book serves its purpose excellently. Alcuin is never lost sight of, but at the same time we get a clear view of the historical background, interesting for its own sake as well as for the light it throws on her hero. Her final summing up of Alcuin is judicious, nor does she fall into the trap which all biographers have to face, of overestimating the importance of her subject, though she does not fail to show that he has been much neglected.

It is almost unnecessary to say that Professor Duckett's translations from the Latin are impeccable and always pleasant to read. But one tiny point is worth questioning. On page 209 she translates "citharistam" as "flute-player." Surely it can mean nothing but "harpist." It is doubtful whether the Anglo-Saxons knew the flute, while the harp was popular among them as the story of Caedmon reminds us. In the same passage, the reference to Ingeld the Heathobard seems to miss the point, for it was *after* he had married his Danish princess that the feud between the two nations broke out again—a typical example of the "heroic dilemma" which the old Germanic heroic stories used so effectively, where the hero, or more often the heroine as here, is torn by conflicting duties.

Professor Duckett resembles Alcuin in that she is a "born teacher." She is able to piece together all kinds of tiny details gathered from her authorities and gradually to build up a living picture of Alcuin himself, of his much-loved pupils and friends, of Charles and his court, and of the life in the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours. What is even more remarkable is that she is able with equal ease to lead us through the mazes of the Iconoclastic controversy, clarify the confusion of the Adoptionist heresy, set out the varied views of scholars concerning the imperial coronation of Charles or trace the history of the Carolingian minuscule. Yet she never sacrifices accuracy to lucidity. The result is an eminently readable book in which the specialist will have something to learn and which the young student will be able, and what is more important, willing to read. Her book will doubtless long remain the standard work on the life and times of Alcuin.

*Durham, England*

BERTRAM COLGRAVE

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES. Volume I, THE FIRST CRUSADE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM. By *Steven Runciman*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 377. \$5.00.)

IN issuing this first volume of a projected three-volume history of the crusades, the author expresses his regret that the "composite work" which international scholars under American auspices are now planning was not available in time for him to profit by it, and thus describes the separate function of his own undertaking: "A single author cannot speak with the high authority of a panel of experts, but he may succeed in giving to his work an integrated and even epical quality that no composite volume can achieve." On this basis, the work now under review invites comparison with the efforts of Kugler, Röhricht, W. B. Stephenson, and Brehier to encompass the whole history of the crusades; and it may also be compared with special aptness to the three-volume study by Grousset of the same period.

After a first "book," largely descriptive of Eastern background, the author follows developments from the time of Gregory VII to the accession of Baldwin I in a narrative as interesting as that of Grousset and much more critical. Relying more than his predecessors on the use of recent scholarly contributions, he is also the first European scholar to make extensive reference to the works of American scholars in this field; and his tribute to D. C. Munro "whose regrettably small literary output belied his importance as a teacher" will be widely appreciated on this side of the Atlantic. Unfortunately, however, he appears to have made little use of either Paetow's *Guide* or *Speculum*, with the result that he includes in his bibliography only a fraction of the publications of Byrne, David, Duncalf, Joranson, LaMonte, and Munro, all of whom he cites, and he has missed some of the younger American contributors entirely.

In the comprehensive outlook he has brought to his purpose of surveying the whole crusading era, he excels over all previous writers in the field; and this is notably evident in his discussion of Near Eastern history. No diamond has ever been cut with as many facets as any major problem in this area presents. Yet he appears to have bent a discerning eye on nearly all these involvements, and treats with a sure touch the Greek East, the Slavonic elements, the various branches of the Turkish stock, the geography and people of the whole Near East, the Armenians, Jews, Kurds, Arabs, and Egyptians, the various Christian sects as well as those of Islam. Few, if any, historians of the crusades have been so well prepared for the task, his years spent in Sofia, Athens, Constantinople, and Cairo yielding large dividends for this work.

The temper of the author's critical faculties is, perhaps, best exemplified in his careful estimate of the probable number of crusaders. Disregarding the fantastic figures of the inexperienced contemporary chroniclers, he follows their accounts until

they deal with numbers within their comprehension, and then calculates on that reasonable basis the numbers involved in antecedent events. Fulcher, whose extravagant estimates at Nicaea are corrected by his later comments after years in the East, would, I am sure, agree with him. In similar vein, the author neither accepts nor rejects in entirety either Albert of Aix or Anna Comnena. Though there is much in both to command his respect, he indulges in few illusions, preferring to view the facts as they occurred. Recognizing both the ideals and the actualities that were involved in the great and tragic drama of the crusades, he records the story as it developed, the ideals too often succumbing to the raw human nature of an untutored folk who were dealing, in the main, with a complex society far beyond their comprehension.

One of the most impressive features of this work is contained in the author's bold, independent appraisal of the leading figures in the period under his view. Unawed by either the traditional or legendary reputation which the crusading leaders have in time acquired, he applies his own intuitive judgment to each of them on the basis of their separate acts in the situations which confronted them personally. In his desire, however, to depict the real Godfrey and Tancred, who have both become favorites of legend, he has fallen somewhat short, perhaps, in according full justice to either. Perhaps, too, he has been too severe in his judgment of Stephen and Robert of Normandy. On the other hand, Alexius, Adhemar, Arnulf, Daimbert, Raymond of Toulouse, and above all Baldwin, seem more accurately and fairly appraised than is usually the case in less than monographic delineation. And as a further result of the author's close study of all these puzzling characters, Raymond of Toulouse—so enigmatic a mixture of the base and the noble—emerges as a more consistent and more admirable figure than he is usually portrayed. That Baldwin should appear as the ablest leader produced by the crusade seems only a belated act of justice.

In so comprehensive a work as this, it is perhaps inevitable that the author must here and there fall short of satisfying the various specialists who have made meticulous studies of limited phases of the subject. Perhaps every one of them will mark some shortcoming in the volume now under consideration. Thus I should be inclined to modify the author's interpretation of the disposition of Jerusalem both in the summer of 1099 and at Christmas time of the same year; for by the time the army reached Jerusalem, both Raymond and Robert of Normandy were so thoroughly embittered that neither could have been chosen ruler. Even if they had so desired, and in spite of various statements of their devoted followers to the contrary, this could hardly have happened; and the choice of Godfrey, leading neutral, as secular leader, and of Arnulf, Robert's chaplain, as ecclesiastical head suggests, moreover, an understanding between these two contingents. In like manner, the refusal to let Raymond hold the Tower of David or Ascalon was due more, in my judgment, to this coalition than to Godfrey alone; and since Raymond had lost the support of many of his



own followers, the decision was made the more easy. Again, there is room for a different interpretation than the author suggests regarding the *coup d'état* which Bohemond and Daimbert perpetrated in displacing Arnulf and in making Godfrey and Bohemond vassals of the new patriarch. In this particular the author may have been misled by the Pisan calendar into ascribing Daimbert's departure to the summer of 1099 instead of 1098, when he actually left—a fact which precludes the possibility that he had been appointed legate to succeed Adhemar, and fixes the responsibility for the *coup d'état* upon the shrewd, calculating scheme of Bohemond, who was thereby seeking validation of his title to Antioch. The personally ambitious Daimbert was thus a willing partner to the scheme which the weakness of Godfrey made possible. Some such qualifying considerations as these will no doubt occur to others who have worked in the field; and for this reason the author of this most perceptive and careful study of the crusades would no doubt find it advantageous to work in close co-operation with the group of scholars who are now engaged in preparing the volumes on the same period which the Mediaeval Academy of America has sponsored.

Even allowing generously, however, for any and all variation of opinion on specific points, it is impossible to withhold tribute to the very high quality of achievement which this book represents. If the volumes that are yet to be issued succeed in upholding the standard of the first, the whole series promises to be not only the best comprehensive account of the crusades by a single author but a truly monumental work on all counts.

University of Minnesota

A. C. KREY

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF BRITAIN: GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S *HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE* AND ITS EARLY VERNACULAR VERSIONS. By J. S. P. Tatlock. (Berkeley: University of California Press in co-operation with the Mediaeval Academy of America. 1950. Pp. xi, 545. \$7.50.)

THE late Professor Tatlock was a scholar of wide-ranging interests, best known for his studies on two like-named English writers, Geoffrey Chaucer and Geoffrey of Monmouth. During the last two decades he published a steady stream of articles centering upon the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and medievalists are indeed fortunate that he lived to see through the galley proofs this important volume, which gathers between its covers the judgments of an active and mature mind concerning "one of the most influential books ever written" (p. 3). Whether admired willingly as the source for so much that was good in imaginative literature or grudgingly for perpetrating a fraud which enjoyed a vogue about as long as that of the Donation of Constantine, Geoffrey deserves such a synthesis as this to sum up the vast deal of specialized studies which have appeared. *The Legendary History* stands as a fitting monument to a life of

devoted scholarship and one may sense therein more of the temper of Professor Tatlock's mind than in a formal memorial.

In his book the author essayed to survey the *Historia* "as a whole," to discover Geoffrey's thoughts, the background of his work, what he wished to convey and what effect he wished to produce on his readers. This survey (in Part I) takes the form of a score of chapters which vary in intensity and length (but whose titles are all graciously short): Sources and Scholarship, British Geography, Continental Geography, Personages and Their Names, Merlin, Arthur, Saints and Churchmen, Religion and the Church, Law, Politics, Imperialism, Warfare, Customs and Manners, Popular Elements, Geoffrey's Historiography, Racial Sympathies, Prophecies of Merlin, Geoffrey's Motives, Date of the *Historia*, Biographical. These are in some degree discrete studies whose order is not inevitable and it is not easy to do justice to so meaty and complex a book in a short summary. But one may try.

Not too much is known about Geoffrey's life. A cleric from the marcher country, he was probably of Breton descent; his sympathies are with the Britons before the migration to Armorica, with the Bretons thereafter, and never with the Welsh. (Nor are the author's, at least in this respect, that he minimizes Welsh influence in the *Historia*.) He spent a number of years at Oxford as a canon and in 1152 was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph, dying apparently in 1154/55. He was alert, sane and well-balanced, intelligent but not an intellectual, concrete-minded and little given to philosophizing, moderately well read, rationalistic and secular in his attitudes and interests, and favorably disposed toward the Norman monarchy. The profile which Professor Tatlock etched so incisively is not an unattractive one and in many features it is not a unique one among clergymen of Norman England.

Between 1130 and 1138 Geoffrey wrote the *Historia*, intending it for an audience of aristocratic laymen of Anglo-Norman stock. His motives, other than desire for fame and preferment which the bishopric must have satisfied, were to do an exciting and lifelike "national" history of the British (*not* the Welsh) and to provide by earlier parallels some justification for the expansionist policies of the Anglo-Norman monarchs. In accomplishing these purposes he used a number of obvious written sources from Gildas to William of Malmesbury and perhaps others not so obviously identifiable, but *not* the British "*librum vetustissimum*" which he thrice names as his guide. He used as well traditional and popular materials (to be accepted only after careful scrutiny, though) and he drew heavily upon his knowledge of contemporary conditions and affairs, gained at first hand or through acquaintances. Most important, and most refreshing as the theme is developed by the author, is the extent to which Geoffrey drew upon his own imagination in shaping existing materials or in inventing new. For all his invention, Geoffrey wanted his book to be accepted as history, not as romance; this aim accounts for his frequent habit of ascribing to an earlier epoch that

which was known or plausible to his contemporaries and, coupled with his own rationalism, this aim accounts too for his slight use of the miraculous, the marvelous and the grotesquely exaggerated. This desire for verisimilitude without historical truth led to the paradox of an almost wholly legendary account more sober in its details than the mine run of authentic chronicles of the day. The proof of his artistry may be found in the long currency his pseudo-history had as history.

There is artistry too in the structure of the *Historia* with its conscious alternation of compressed summaries of lengthy periods enlivened by an occasional vivid touch and of expanded and detailed treatment of short periods of especial interest. The latter technique was followed in the two instances in which Geoffrey's influence on literature was to be most significant—the Leir story, “ultimate ancestor” of Shakespeare's tragedy, and the story of Arthur. Professor Tatlock finds no evidence for an earlier Arthur tradition of the sort that Geoffrey popularized. Whatever the latter may have borrowed from others, the Arthur of the romances was in large degree his own, strongly influenced by the concept of a British messiah, by current Anglo-Norman “imperialism,” and by medieval Alexander stories.

Part II deals briefly with early vernacular versions of the *Historia*: with Gaimar and other minor French adapters; with Wace, who fashioned the Round Table; and with Lawman, who first “and most worthily” Englished Geoffrey's matter.

Unlike Geoffrey, Professor Tatlock wrote for the learned. Scholarship on the matter of Britain is highly controversial—witness the author's running feud with Faral and others—and scholarship, like bullfighting or Chinese art, requires a knowledge of background and of techniques for critical judgment and thorough appreciation. With but slight acquaintance with the extensive literature the author cites, the present reviewer can appraise his work only in the general fashion of that marginal reader we all hope our books may find, the scholar from a cognate field. This book is tightly argued; like his Geoffrey, Professor Tatlock is to be counted among the tough-minded and this marginal reader, who has never identified an eponymy or traced a literary motif to its lair, is easily persuaded of the soundness of the author's caution in his rejection of the theories of others. In advancing his own theories too he is far from dogmatic; the tone of the whole book may be summed up in his statement about Geoffrey: “Of so elusive a writer in so early a century most of our knowledge must come from the harmony of probabilities” (p. 82). To an untrained ear, there seem to be few dissonances here.

It is probably because erudition in any field but one's own appears over-meticulous that the reviewer has felt that some of the problems raised here are of less than world-shaking importance or that in spite of the author's vigorous prose the exposition is occasionally a trifle extended (the chapters on place and personal names are cases in point). In the context of the recondite treatment

of literary matters, information on social and political history appears somewhat obvious in spots. Throughout the documentation leaves little to the imagination. But these are merely the impressions of one marginal reader who nevertheless has found the book valuable and who hopes that it will have the same fate as the *Historia*, "which came more and more to appeal to those for whom it was not designed" (p. 395).

*University of Chicago*

JAMES LEA CATE

TAXATION IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By *Sydney Knox Mitchell*. Edited by *Sidney Painter*. [Yale Historical Publications, Studies, XV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. 413. \$5.00.)

THE content of this volume is more limited chronologically and topographically than the title may seem to imply. The period of primary concern extends from 1154 to 1272. Excursions are made into earlier times where a background is necessary and into later years when the significance of developments before 1272 can be explained fully only by consideration of events after that date. The first four chapters deal with carucages and aids on movables and revenues and the last four with royal tallages. Other taxes, such as scutages, are discussed only for the information which they contribute to one aspect or another of the main theme.

Three of the first four chapters are concerned with the administration of aids on movables and revenues and of carucages. The first presents a careful study of the composition and functions of the central boards which were appointed to administer the receipt of nearly all these taxes until the reign of Edward I, when the exchequer took over the work. The functions of such a board for the tax which it was appointed to receive were similar to those of the lower exchequer for other revenues and sometimes a board was also empowered to audit the accounts of the collectors. The second accords similar treatment to the assessors and collectors of these taxes. It leads the author to the conclusion: "In finance therefore as in the administration of justice the local political power of the baron was retiring before the expanding power of the royal government" (p. 110). The third gives a detailed explanation of the development of the basis of assessment.

The fourth chapter on consent to taxation is exceptionally important. Until the close of John's reign, in the author's opinion, consent to aids which took the form of a carucage or of a tax on movables and revenues was given by the great council and the tenants in chief individually. During the reign of Henry III to 1237 it continued to be the view of the king, the magnates and commentators that the aid was an individual grant by each tenant in chief and instances of individual refusals to pay an aid occurred, but the practical effect of a grant by the great council was to make the decision binding on all holders of the type of property being taxed. The king was always able to collect the great bulk of the aid. "A concept of corporate consent was imperceptibly taking shape" (p. 202).

At the same time, because these taxes were paid by many who were not immediate vassals of the king, a theory developed that the great council represented all freemen except clerks and monastic communities not holding by military tenure and laymen on the royal demesne. Until 1237 the barons did not feel entirely free to refuse the grant of an aid on account of the persistence of the original concept of the gracious aid. Thereafter the great council rejected several requests of Henry III for an aid and this experience helped to develop corporate consent. During the reign of Edward I before 1295 taxes on personal property were granted by the corporate consent of the great council supplemented by the corporate consent of the representatives of the shires except in the assemblies of 1283. In 1295 the king forced on the towns of the demesne the use of representatives with full power who also gave corporate consent and this remained the practice thereafter except in 1297.

In the four remaining chapters the development of the royal tallage is traced from the reign of Henry II to the statute of 1340 by which the king finally gave up the right to tallage the demesne. An especially interesting part of this story is the full discussion of the events connected with the confirmation of the charters in 1297.

It may be doubted if much new information can be added to our knowledge of the administration and levy of the taxes here treated so fully. Perhaps additional details may come to light, but the fundamental work is done. Those conclusions which are necessarily based on balances of probabilities and particularly those on some of the vexed problems of consent are of major significance, though there is room for disagreement with some of them. Taken as a whole, this work represents the thorough research and the mature conclusions of a scholar who spent a lifetime studying the subject. We are much indebted to Professor Painter for making available such a valuable addition to the literature of the constitutional history of the period.

*Haverford College*

W. E. LUNT

## Modern European History

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND: FROM THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH TO 1938. By *Keith Feiling*, Emeritus Chichele Professor of Modern History, Oxford; Fellow of All Souls College. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951. Pp. xxxiv, 1229. \$7.50.)

THIS book, as Professor Feiling indicates in his preface, does not aim at novelty of analysis or interpretation. Rather is it an attempt to tell, within the covers of a single volume, the story of the British nation, incorporating in the narrative the findings of recent decades of historical scholarship and bringing, he implies, J. R. Green up to date. Let it be said at once that he has accomplished

his purpose with no little credit. An impressive learning is writ large on the pages of the book, and well-balanced, perceptive judgments inform the study throughout. Professor Feiling draws on an enormous range of reading, primary and secondary, and he seems easily at home in widely separated periods of the English past, though, no doubt, specialists will find points to question. Indeed, as is often the case when scholars turn to the longer view, some of his most satisfying chapters have to do with periods, notably the Anglo-Saxon, in which he would profess no special *expertise*.

Both the merits and defects of the study follow, at least in part, from Professor Feiling's conception of his task. This volume is, in the best sense, traditional history, and political narrative supplies the main theme. Despite the claim on the jacket, it is not "the record of an entire culture" and is rather less "a history of the English *people*" than is Green. Of the eighty-one chapters (fifty-five dealing with the period from Henry VIII on) not more than seven or eight are devoted to social and cultural history, perhaps three or four others to the growth of the constitution. Institutional aspects are not heavily emphasized, nor does Professor Feiling employ such devices as statistical tables, graphs, and the like which can sometimes illuminate a historical panorama. It is men, not movements, that really engage his interest. Some of his more memorable passages are vignettes of individual Englishmen, of Alfred, who "had, in full the gifts of action,—ardour in hunting, gay endurance in war, interest in all human doing, simple, broad strokes of policy,—but to them added, what are so rarely combined, the artist's eye and a dedicated purpose. One side of him turned to planning warships or lamps . . . or to collecting English ballads; another to correspondence with the churches of Jerusalem or India, and his own new foundation at Winchester. But all roads in his mind led back to England"; of Richard III, in whose presence "men turned cold when they saw his nervous ringed hand for ever half-drawing the dagger from its sheath, and the teeth gnawing his lower lip"; or Chatham, who "scorched up his opponents in debate as if by fire, his speeches blazing up in sudden inspiration, as when he saw death riding on the white horse, the badge of Hanover, or pointed the Lords to the Armada tapestries."

It is ungracious to complain when an author carries out his own conception as adequately as does Professor Feiling. Yet one cannot help feeling that he has approached his task in an overcautious spirit. It is at least arguable that his book would have been a more useful and significant contribution had he defined his problem in more daring terms. There are no important new perspectives and little challenging interpretation—indeed, this is not primarily a work of interpretation. Although it was suspected, because of his identification with Tory party history, that Professor Feiling might reinterpret English history in the light of the Tory tradition, this point of view does not emerge strikingly. Possibly he is inclined to give more weight to factors of stability and less to those of change than Whig-Liberal writers have tended to do and to stress the achievements of certain



Tory ministries. But, on the whole, this is a middle-of-the-road approach, which owes little to political philosophy, Tory or otherwise.

What it comes down to, I think, is that Professor Feiling's insight into the world of individuals is not matched by an equally acute appreciation of the broader lines of historical development. Few general questions are raised and few general conclusions emerge. This is not an essay on the making of the English way of life, nor does it seek to isolate and explain in any conscious fashion the elements in their historical background that have made the English what they are. In short, the narrative, clear and well-proportioned as it is, has about it a certain atomistic quality and seems lacking in the unifying ideas which could give form and direction. For one reader, at least, the whole is a little less than the sum of the parts, though most of the parts are admirable in themselves.

*Harvard University*

DAVID OWEN

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. Volume I, THE KING'S PROCEEDINGS. By *Philip Hughes*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xxi, 404. \$6.00.)

THIS is the second solid volume on the Henrician reformation within three years. Although the earlier one (H. Maynard Smith, *Henry VIII and the Reformation*, London, 1948) was Anglican in point of view, and this is Roman Catholic, although Father Hughes's organization and emphasis differ widely from Canon Smith's and he sometimes calls his predecessor sharply to account, on the whole the agreements are more striking than the differences. Certainly the emphasis, proportion, and the relative weighing of events are more alike than they would have been in a Catholic and a Protestant account a hundred or even fifty years ago. After all, among serious scholars, less disagreement is now possible about the facts.

About the rigidity, conservatism, and decadence of the pre-Reformation church in England, for instance, and the relation of those factors to lay anticlericalism and the rising humanist attack, Canon Smith and Father Hughes are of much the same mind, Hughes delivering, indeed, the sterner judgment. Similarly they both reject the scandalous and scabrous stories in which Protestant controversialists once delighted, and accept the saner view of English religious life which Cardinal Gasquet and James Gairdner did so much to advance, while at the same time they agree (Father Hughes, perhaps, a shade reluctantly) that Geoffrey Baskerville and others have drastically modified Gasquet's pathetic picture of the consequences of the dissolution. In all this a long generation of research shows its fruits.

Even more strikingly, Hughes and Smith agree that in the politics of the Reformation Henry VIII's divorce was the decisive factor. Here the main work of scholarship has been to clear away the apologetics with which Henry's de-

fenders, ever since Hall and Fox and Henry himself, have beclouded the issues. On this topic, it is perhaps natural and right that Father Hughes should be much the fuller and clearer. His account of the divorce is the plainest and surest short path yet blazed through that tangle, and the way he relates it at every step to the rest of "the King's Proceedings" gives his narrative exceptional clarity and dramatic interest. Anglicans in general will disagree with his conclusion that "the fundamental Protestant heresy" to which, before "the king's great matter" was wound up, he and his realm were committed, was (and is) the denial of the authority of the pope, and that once that denial had been made the people of England had no right to call themselves Catholics. But about this, theologians rather than historians should dispute.

Two minor points are perhaps worth raising: Father Hughes seems to underestimate the force of the reservation, "as far as the law of Christ allows," with which Warham and Fisher qualified the clergy's first recognition of Henry as Supreme Head. As long as there were bishops brave enough to maintain that the authority allowed to a king by the law of Christ was strictly limited, Henry had won an empty victory. Warham stood on that very ground, and the divorce at which the king was aiming had to wait two years more. Of course Henry could (and probably would) have had Warham's head, as later he had Fisher's, and then found a Cranmer to do his bidding, but that does not mean that the two bishops were either cowed or tricked. Father Hughes understands thoroughly the importance of the time-distance factor for interpreting sixteenth-century diplomacy but sometimes he slips in applying it. He rejects, for instance, the supposed connection between the battle of Landriano (June 21, 1529) and the signing of the Treaty of Barcelona (June 29) because "the distance Rome-Barcelona" is too great. But the significant distance is Landriano-Genoa-Barcelona, and, in fact, the news of Landriano had reached Barcelona by the twenty-eighth. The papal envoys did not need Rome to tell them that the French cause in Italy was lost. Later on, Father Hughes writes: "On January 12, 1539, Charles and Francis signed at Toledo a pact directed against Henry; and on the 25th the king sent Christopher Mont as an envoy to Saxony." Here a connection between two events is implied where none is possible. Leaving aside such considerations as that Francis was not in Toledo at all, that Henry seems to have been unaware of the treaty as late as the end of March, and that its contents would not have alarmed him had he known them, the time-distance factor contradicts the implication. Even at the most favorable season the fastest couriers never made London to Toledo in as little as thirteen days; in January, twice that would have been reasonably good time.

This, however, is to boggle at trifles when there is much that still demands to be praised: the admirable opening exposition of the numbers and distribution of the clergy, secular and religious, in relation to the total population; the clear and penetrating analysis of the relevant theology, so often neglected in

English Reformation history; the shrewd suggestions for further lines of inquiry; the careful index and many well-chosen illustrations. This book does not so much compete with Smith's as complement it. Anyone interested in the English Reformation will want to read both, and it is pleasant to anticipate that both studies will be carried forward at least to the Elizabethan settlement.

*Columbia University*

GARRETT MATTINGLY

THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH: THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY. By  
*A. L. Rowse*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York: Macmillan  
Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 547. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Rowse has published the first of a proposed two-volume work describing and interpreting Elizabethan England. To quote the author's own words, the present volume attempts "to expose and portray the small society—tough, vigorous, pulsating with energy—that accomplished those extraordinary achievements and made the age the most remarkable in history." To accomplish this end, Mr. Rowse has brought together an immense mass of detailed information, much of it from contemporary documents. He has woven this factual information into a description of the externals of life in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. "I have drawn largely upon local and regional material for my picture," Mr. Rowse says in his preface. "There are immense riches in local archives and in the published records and journals of antiquarian societies all over England. . . . I believe that the marriage of local with national history . . . has more to offer us than many more sought and overcultivated fields." His book offers ample proof of this statement. It is also significant that Mr. Rowse's most successful chapters are those in which he uses such material to describe the country as the Elizabethans might have seen it, and as we can still see it. American historians will find the descriptive portions of Mr. Rowse's book the most valuable, and they will be indebted to him for a rich mine of quotations from contemporary records.

When he comes to interpret the facts which he has unearthed Mr. Rowse is less successful. Historians of various points of view are certain to quarrel with many of his generalizations and deductions. Fortunately, Mr. Rowse never leaves the reader in doubt about his own attitudes and prejudices. He looks back upon the Elizabethan period as a golden age and mourns that he himself was born to live under the Labor government. He dislikes Puritans anywhere, at any time, and can find little good to say about them. Toward bishops and lords he is more tolerant. Since Mr. Rowse is perfectly honest in his attitude and makes his position abundantly clear with numerous asides and comments, the reader need not be misled by generalizations which are beside the mark. Nevertheless, in such chapters as the one on "The Church" and on "Catholics and Puritans," many readers will find it hard to forgive such statements as "I do not know a

single Elizabethan bishop who was a bad man" (p. 389), followed closely by a narrative of bishops' performances something less than admirable in anybody's definition of what is good and bad.

The reader will also be concerned with the implied philosophy behind a statement about men willing to die for their ideals: "The two sides are interchangeable: one does not respect either; nor did Elizabeth: she liked those who knew how to live" (p. 390). After a lively description of the domestic trouble of the bishop of Norwich, Mr. Rowse comments: "The fact that the Bishop had his own trials did not prevent him from trying a crazy Arian for heresy and condemning him to be burned" (p. 412). Puritans are "horrid" or "nasty" or otherwise approbrious when Mr. Rowse describes them. A good Anglican did not hold "Calvin's ugly doctrine of Predestination" (p. 415). Occasionally Mr. Rowse appears to be writing ironically; if so his style betrays him into the hands of critics who will condemn what they believe to be inaccuracies and unhistorical deductions. Perhaps Mr. Rowse has read too long among unpruned Elizabethan authors, for his style suffers from a lack of restraint. Fewer adjectives, parenthetical statements, unfinished sentences, asides, and exclamations would have made a briefer, an easier, and a more pleasing book to read.

Although the historian will find much in Mr. Rowse's book with which he must disagree, he will be grateful for the vast reading which the author has done and the abundant citations of little-known records and documents. Mr. Rowse is a scholar of great learning, and in many places he points the way to neglected areas of study.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

SIR WALTER RALEGH: A STUDY IN ELIZABETHAN SKEPTICISM.

By Ernest A. Strathmann. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 292. \$3.75.)

BOTH Elizabethans and moderns have accused Sir Walter Raleigh of "atheism." Dr. Strathmann's book, based upon a thorough examination of the *History of the World*, exonerates Raleigh of this charge. He concludes that Raleigh, while anxious to define and enlarge the limits of intellectual inquiry, remained obedient to the religious code of his day; that his heresy (if one can term it such) was directed against Aristotle and scholastic logic and not against the scriptures or the belief in immortality. Raleigh's skepticism was the skepticism of the academy rather than the empirical skepticism of Pyrrho. The terms "atheism" and "Machiavellian" were linked in Elizabethan vocabulary and Dr. Strathmann does not deny the use made of Machiavelli by Raleigh; indeed he admits that in action and in his ethics Raleigh has earned the epithet "Machiavellian" but not the appellation of "atheist"—the moralist who wrote the *History* remains always in the ascendant.

Any interpretation of such a stormy figure as Sir Walter Raleigh is bound to be controversial, and Dr. Strathmann's conclusions, bolstered as they are by a thorough knowledge of the sources, command respect. Yet the contradiction between the moralist and the "Machiavellian" is never entirely resolved. Mario Praz tried to face this problem by distinguishing between the Raleigh of the Irish campaigns and the Raleigh in the Tower. Dr. Strathmann, basing his view on the scarcity of the sources, denies that Raleigh's development can be traced with confidence. He is, however, eventually forced to cite Bishop Hall's dictum that the "Tower reformed the Court in him." Even when he extols religion, Raleigh's sincerity has often been questioned, as Dr. Strathmann points out. Raleigh was passionately devoted to the maintenance of order and it is in this cause that he uses Machiavelli. His praise of religion in his political tracts has an element of utility rather than faith. Greater emphasis on Raleigh's political writings might have contributed to the solution of problems not solved entirely by a thorough examination of the *History*. Dr. Strathmann readily admits the existence of these problems in Raleigh's thought, though he is careful always to emphasize the primacy of the sincere moralist.

This book is valuable both for the problems which it raises and for its thorough and exhaustive bibliographic footnotes. The arrangements of the chapters make the book a very usable survey not only of the content of Raleigh's *History* but also of more general topics like "atheism" and "skepticism" in Elizabethan England. Extensive quotations from primary sources further enhance the value of the work.

State University of Iowa

GEORGE L. MOSSE

CLARENDON: POLITICS, HISTORY, AND RELIGION, 1640-1660. By B. H. G. Wormald, Fellow of Peterhouse. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 331. \$5.00.)

THIS is an important book, not only for its new interpretation of a great man but for its brilliant analysis of the complex politics in the period of the English Civil War. The magnitude of the task of writing about a man whose career spanned the Tyranny, the Long Parliament, the civil wars, and seven critical years of Restoration history, and whose works include not only the copious memorials of a statesman but the lengthy reflections of a prolific historian, has in general daunted students. A popular life of Clarendon appeared in 1911 and a learned life and letters by T. H. Lister in 1838. Both Sir Charles Firth and S. R. Gardiner described briefly his life and works in various publications. Mr. Wormald has thoroughly mastered the extensive printed Clarendon material, on which he for the most part bases his thesis, though his notes show some acquaintance with manuscript sources as well. His contribution cannot be ignored hereafter by any student of seventeenth-century history, but it cannot be appre-

ciated in any way except by those whose familiarity with events, persons, and ideas of the period will enable them to follow and assess this closely woven study of the mind and policies of Clarendon.

Mr. Wormald derives his material not only from the persuasive pen of the statesman himself but from many a contemporary diary, manifesto, or polemic. His conclusions are original and not easy to gainsay. He maintains that Clarendon thoroughly endorsed the revolution effected in 1640-41 since it restored both the proper legal constitution as he understood it and improved it by necessary safeguards against the mistakes of the past years. Wormald denies that Clarendon became a royalist because he was a loyal Anglican. He was indeed prepared for drastic changes if they would create a stable edifice of state by meeting the demands of the intransigents led by Pym and satisfy the king. He joined the court in 1642 because he saw there more willingness to compromise than at Westminster. Clarendon then and throughout the struggle was anxious for a reasonable accommodation which would ensure the achievements of the early Long Parliament. Mr. Wormald makes some exceedingly acute observations on the significance of the Parliament which met at Oxford and on the omission of any attempt to upset the great Triennial Act. Indeed if Mr. Wormald's first conclusion concerns the nature of Clarendon's policy in 1640-42, his second deals with Clarendon's work throughout the interregnum for the healing of the breach and for accommodations which would enable England to enjoy her ancient constitution improved and safeguarded by the six acts. The statesman turned historian during this time and believed that events must now run their course, that Providence could and must do its work. His intractability now where the Cavaliers would have compromised is, so runs this argument, in reality a continuation of his earlier policy. The restoration of king, lords, bishops, and Parliament after the old order and without "terms" was his justification and his greatest achievement. Mr. Wormald's analysis of the relation between the historical work and the policy of the exile is perhaps the most interesting part of his essay. One may hope that he will edit the *Life* and *History* together, perhaps with long and careful commentary. His gloss is such that it practically demands the juxtaposition of text.

Mr. Wormald defines Clarendon's religion as latitudinarian. In youth he associated with Falkland and Chillingworth and the others at Tew. He was neither high church nor Laudian, nor was he a Puritan in sympathy with the sects. He was, it could be said, anticlerical. He supported the church because without it he could see no order in England. Mr. Wormald has yet to fit 1660-67 into the pattern here evolved. His conclusion may well be that, after the single triumph of 1660, Clarendon was as unsuccessful even as chancellor and royal father-in-law in achieving his own wise policies as he was before and during the Civil War.

*Bryn Mawr College*

CAROLINE ROBBINS



BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1714-1789. Edited by Stanley Pargellis and D. J. Medley. [Issued under the Direction of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xxvi, 642. \$8.50.)

THIS product of joint American and British scholarship is a worthy companion volume to Conyers Read's *Bibliography of British History: The Tudor Period, 1485-1603*, published in 1933, and to Godfrey Davies' *Bibliography of British History: The Stuart Period, 1603-1714*, published in 1928, and in its compilation the authors have followed the general format and standards of their predecessors. The eighteenth century experienced an upsurge in the amount of materials printed. In comparison with the 70,000 items printed between 1641 and 1700, there were an estimated 150,000 pieces, excluding broadsides, produced between 1715 and 1800. Since it was a bibliography rather than a short-title catalogue that was desired, space limitations required a critical selection from the mass of sources. In that selection the authors were guided by their "own notions" of what would be most permanently useful in a bibliography. In brief they applied the following rules: (1) Only the best of the mass of contemporary and modern materials were cited. In this "best," however, are the bibliographical tools such as bibliographies of bibliography, guides, catalogues, and dictionaries essential to filling the gaps left through selection. (2) Priority was given to original rather than to secondary sources, and secondary works dealing too thinly with large subjects or too exhaustively with small subjects have been excluded. (3) Nineteenth-century biographies which contained original letters were given preference over biographies of a popular nature. (4) References to periodical literature, in the main, are left to be found in the periodical guides.

The application of the above principles has resulted in a volume of seventeen well-conceived chapters which meet the requirements of a selective bibliography for the contemporary materials, but which, the authors frankly admit, can not be accepted as "even a selective guide to books published in recent years." Although there are but 4,558 serially numbered entries in the bibliography, the practice of listing additional works under each selected source brings the total number cited to about 12,000. With the excellent descriptive comments which accompany most of the entries and the careful inclusion of the available bibliographical tools in the selected titles, the volume becomes a most useful guide to both the novitiate and the seasoned scholar of the eighteenth century.

The bibliography covers all aspects of the history of Great Britain and her colonies in the eighteenth century. Not only are the curtains drawn wide on the sources of the political, constitutional, legal, social, economic, military, naval, colonial, and Indian history but the windows too are washed to add much-needed light in the fields of ecclesiastical, cultural, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and local his-

tory. Welcome, too, is the chapter on the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

While the large number of publications that have appeared since 1900 on the eighteenth century dispels the belief that that century has been neglected by scholars, the fields that still need study are indicated by the paucity of entries in those fields and by specific citation by the editors.

In a bibliography so highly selective in content, however, one does expect a complete listing of all the bibliographical tools needed to fill the gaps caused by the selective process. Missing are the *Cumulative Subject Catalog of the Library of Congress*, and W. T. Laprade's "The Present State of the History of England in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Modern History*, IV, 581-603. For the benefit of American scholars some mention should have been made of the large microfilm holdings of the Library of Congress of eighteenth-century manuscript collections that were acquired through the English microcopying program during the late war. There also will be a considerable difference of opinion as to the "best" selections in many sections.

The volume is exceptionally well cross-referenced and indexed, and it must be regarded as an excellent bibliography.

University of Illinois

EDGAR L. ERICKSON

GENESIS AND GEOLOGY: A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT, NATURAL THEOLOGY, AND SOCIAL OPINION IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1790-1850. By *Charles Coulston Gillispie*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LVIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 315. \$4.50.)

IN this closely packed study, Mr. Gillispie stands on the assumptions that early nineteenth-century England was acutely concerned with the relation of science to religious belief, and that, of the descriptive sciences just emerging from the chrysalis of natural history, geology was most advanced. On these assumptions he has at once traced the development of the science itself, and issues arising out of that development. In the latter connection he has especially considered the problem of religion in science and the impact of utilitarianism and evangelical religion. Although the dominant characteristic of the period was the holy alliance between religion and science, there were, nevertheless, shadows of Huxley's image of extinguished theologians lying about the scientific cradle. Not so sharply delineated, but still implicit in Mr. Gillispie's generalizations are the contemporary concern of laymen with science and the growing fear in certain scientific quarters for the prospects of science. The journals gave so much attention to the different branches that the laity comprised a jury before whom many cases were argued. Because some scientists feared lest this jury determine the course of scientific investigation and attitude, an increasing number of scientists, either

vociferously or quietly, were registering their fears of the decline of science. In books and in the foundation of new societies they sought to advance pure science; ultimately they even awoke the Royal Society from its apathy.

Against this background Mr. Gillispie has portrayed the furor inaugurated by Hutton's substitution of a geological synthesis for imaginative exercises. To the majority of scientists, the flood exceeded the creation in importance, and Hutton's failure to find any vestige of a beginning or any prospect of an end was infinitely distressing. As the flood receded in importance, scientists became increasingly prepared to pursue their inquiries at least to the point where the Creator had ended His direct activities. Catastrophic theories died hard. Even after Lyell had stressed that without uniformity there might be no science, the catastrophists had a hearing. Various straws predicted their reduced influence, however. Such a one was the *Vestiges of Creation* which had the paradoxical career of being repeatedly denounced as a bad book and going through eleven editions in a few years. Finally, the Bridgewater Treatises and the peculiar love of the English for "regarding Nature from a theological point of view" to the contrary, the evolutionary view was to triumph. Mr. Gillispie has harvested a good crop; further cultivation of this same period will yield even richer ones.

*University of Missouri*

CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE ROMANTIC ROGUE: BEING THE SINGULAR LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF RUDOLPH ERIC RASPE, CREATOR OF BARON MUNCHAUSEN. By *John Carswell*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1950. Pp. vii, 278. \$4.00.)

THE author, an able officer in the British Civil Service and a veteran of World War II, comes of a literary family, for his father and mother have published biographies of Scott and of D. H. Lawrence and Burns respectively. Mr. Carswell is already known for his edition of the tales of the exuberant Munchausen. In this volume he tells everything that has been discovered so far by German scholars and himself about Raspe and the influences that played on the career of one of the most versatile rascals that ever promoted himself in Germany or in England. His authorship of the one thing for which he is remembered he never claimed. He was known to the police wherever he stayed for any length of time. To himself he was a misunderstood and unappreciated connoisseur of art treasures and a path-breaking geologist. He had a right to make such claims but his overweening ambition corroded his improvised morals and he ended his career a shabby forgotten exile in the pay of Matthew Boulton as an assay master and mining prospector. He died at fifty-eight while looking for coal deposits in Ireland.

His uniqueness derives as the author points out from the fact that he was a living anthology of the influences of the age of romanticism, industrialism, and

scientific awakening. His litmus-paper mind revealed with prescient sensitivity the varied phases of his age while others were only dimly aware of them. A native of the mining area of the Harz Mountains he saw geology in the raw and never lost his interest in mineralogy. He was a modern man of science in a field where only a few know his name today. He rose highest as a museum administrator and antiquarian in the service of Frederick II, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. He was an intimate friend of Herder. He wrote on many subjects. He introduced Ossian to the German public. But the world did not move fast enough for Raspe. He overreached himself, and deep in debt he pilfered and pawned objects from his own museum. His fall was inevitable. He fled to England. He wangled a membership in the Royal Society and was expelled when his record was revealed. He grew shabbier and more incessantly active in attempts to climb out of the pit he had dug for himself. The story ranges from London to Scotland to Cornwall, where as an employee of the firm of Boulton and Watt he eked out a precarious living. On the way down he left a trail that made him, unjustly the author thinks, the original of the swindling German prospector in Scott's *The Antiquarian*. I ran across Raspe's trail through his letter to Boulton warning him against Baron Stein as a possible Prussian spy seeking the plans of the steam engine made by Boulton and Watt. I have already told that story and my respect for Mr. Carswell's bibliographical knowledge is enhanced by his finding it in what is probably the only copy of *On and Off the Campus* in England. By reworking the Boulton manuscript he has added a few sidelights. It is clear that Stein was under suspicion before Boulton got a warning letter from the alert Raspe.

It was in these days that Raspe was writing in Cornwall the brochures that gave the world in nervous, vigorous English the *Travels of Baron Munchausen*. His authorship was not firmly fixed until forty years later.

The author started out to write a biography of Raspe. He found he was in for giving some account of all the intellectual interests of Germany in the last half of the eighteenth century because the myriad activities of Raspe reflected or epitomized an era that has been monopolized by interest in Goethe and Herder. This makes the first part of the volume where he is leaning heavily on the biography by Hallo (1934) unnecessarily heavy going. This is my only slight reservation about what will remain the standard life of Raspe in English. The inclusion of so much on his times will, however, be welcomed by students of intellectual history and the history of science.

Washington, D.C.

GUY STANTON FORD

INVESTMENT IN EMPIRE: BRITISH RAILWAY AND STEAM SHIP-  
PING ENTERPRISE IN INDIA, 1825-1849. By *Daniel Thorner*. (Phila-  
delphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 197. \$3.75.)

THE wide interest in such current policies as Point Four makes it highly opportune for historians to examine past episodes involving the development from outside of so-called backward areas. During the nineteenth century British activity in India constituted one of the most significant of these episodes, in terms of both the amount of capital involved and the limited accomplishments. Professor Thorner's book is concerned with the actions of the influential people with which this movement began. Chapter 1 very skimpily sets the stage. There seemed to the British a marked discrepancy between Indian potentialities and manifest results in terms of imports and exports; there was a conviction based upon home experience that improved transportation, first steam shipping and then railways, would promote development as measured by foreign trade; and there was a marked ambivalence at home between a high valuation of private enterprise and an official desire for public regulation of railways. The substantial chapters deal with the complicated promotional administrative and political maneuvers which led to the establishment as going concerns, first of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company and subsequently of the first two Indian railway systems, the East Indian and the Great Indian Peninsular. Thorner identifies the promoters and their principal business sponsors—London merchants, provincial manufacturers, and shippers with a lively interest in increasing the volume of trade from and into India.

The central thread in this narrative, and of the maneuvers, was the establishment of a pattern by which for a quarter of a century subsequent railway undertakings were financed—a distinctive, and in the end highly expensive, sort of government guarantee system. Thorner savors fully the paradox of this device emerging as a prerequisite for the business promoters at the height of the railway boom in England and also in the years in which laissez-faire principles were supposedly riding high. The promoters eventually mobilized public opinion on their behalf, climaxing their campaign by mustering an imposing delegation representing such varied interests as the *Times*, James Bright and other Manchester men, major banking houses, and influential landed families. Briefly, the government of India secured complete nominal control over all railway operations in return for a qualified guarantee of net income to the companies, and an absolute obligation, in case of losses on operation, to bail out the companies for the full amount of the capital invested. The suggestion of the latter device is traced to James Wilson, then editor of the *Economist*. It was understood, of course, that the sponsors, as merchants, manufacturers, etc., also stood to reap an adequate share of whatever further advantages improved transportation would bring.

This is a remarkable story of the way in which enterprising men set about manipulating their environment so that they could be enterprising without risk. It does not deal with business operations and indeed ends precisely at the point when substantial "investment in empire" began. Professor Thorner makes ex-

cessive demands upon the reader's knowledge of background. A description of the mercantile agency system would have strengthened several unnecessarily weak links in his narrative. One would like to have more than a hint as to the ambivalent relations between the East India Company and the mercantile houses. In other respects this is a work of solid scholarship, fully documented from public records and other contemporary sources.

Wellesley College

LELAND H. JENKS

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, 1820-1910. By *Cecil Woodham-Smith*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1951. Pp. 382. \$4.50.)

THE present work is the American edition of a book of the same title published in England in 1950; and Mrs. Woodham-Smith is the first biographer of Florence Nightingale to draw upon significant bodies of manuscript material since Sir Edward Cook published his *Life of Florence Nightingale* in 1913. The American edition must therefore be compared with the English; and both with their predecessor.

Mrs. Woodham-Smith had access to the papers which descended in the family of Lady Verney, Florence Nightingale's sister, and to the papers of Sidney Herbert, Miss Nightingale's principal ally. Sir Edward Cook made no use of the former, and only partial use of the latter, manuscripts. The central body of materials, that is, the papers retained by Florence Nightingale herself, were put at Cook's disposal on the condition that he give no offense to living persons. No such condition was imposed upon Mrs. Woodham-Smith.

Given these advantages, what fresh contributions has she made? In one sense, very few. If one had to determine the points about the career of Florence Nightingale which need to be insisted upon, as forming no part of her "legend," perhaps the choice would be these: the torment of her life at home before she broke away; her communion with God and her leanings toward mysticism; the greater importance of her administrative abilities than of her skill as a practicing nurse; and her many years of service, *after* the Crimea, as an expert consultant to the British government and a reformer of military, political, and social institutions both at home and in India. All these points were made and, with the possible exception of her unhappiness at home, duly emphasized by Cook. Even here he gave ample excerpts from her early papers to prove that she thought she was going through hell, in the form of submitting to her parents' desire that she move in good society with no particular object but marriage. Yet there was a bland and soothing note about Cook's own text, in which he embedded these cries of despair, and a judicious balancing of accounts between her and her parents, which made her seem guilty of an unaccountable lapse of taste. Mrs. Woodham-Smith has given her book a singleness of texture which avoids this defect—she feels no obligation to the family, and limits herself to the point of view of the heroine.



She also avoids the mumbling tone into which Cook fell when discussing Florence Nightingale's suitors, and gives their names. Apart from this, Mrs. Woodham-Smith adds an enormous quantity of telling detail; and she gives (as Cook did not) the sense of following a point from beginning to end. Firm, crisp, and coherent, her book has literary distinction as well as reference value—she learned the right lessons from Lytton Strachey. By appearing in 1918 *Eminent Victorians*, with its attack on tombstones in two volumes, gave Sir Edward Cook the adventitious celebrity of one of the last funeral orators before the Flood. The cycle is now complete with a full-scale biography on the model of Strachey. Part of his formula was a firm insistence on certain redeeming defects of the hero; and perhaps the single most striking innovation in Mrs. Woodham-Smith's portrait is a frank, but not exaggerated, display of the many maddening qualities of Florence Nightingale—self-righteousness, self-pity, and ruthless disregard for the health of her associates (in the worst form, of cavalier disbelief in the possibility of their being ill). Though Mrs. Woodham-Smith avoids, in the tradition of Strachey, a maudlin eulogy of her subject, it must be borne in mind that her task is the evocation of a personality. This leaves room for the criticism of Florence Nightingale but not for the discussion of an event in other terms than her implication in it; and historians may feel a certain want of balance and perspective in the treatment, say, of the Crimean War and of the nursing profession before the war. But the book ought to be judged for what it is: not history but biography. Few readers will take it up without finishing it.

Unfortunately, the full merits of the book will not be evident to the reader of the American edition; because the text has been cut by "about a third" (the publishers' own estimate in a letter to the reviewer). No mention is made of this fact either in the book or on the jacket; and the back of the jacket is occupied exclusively by a number of complimentary remarks made by English reviewers on an English book one third again as long. The publishers state that the cutting was done by Mrs. Woodham-Smith herself. If the initiative came from her, she is mistaken in thinking that the American public must have its books "digested." If the initiative came from McGraw-Hill, they have shirked their responsibility to reproduce a distinguished biography in its entirety. If it be said that the book is better for having been cut, this is a severe reflection upon Mrs. Woodham-Smith, who deprived her readers in England of the better book which she had it in her power to give them. If it be said that the material deleted is of interest only to British readers, this is not true. Few people made any lasting impression upon Florence Nightingale; one of these, by Mrs. Woodham-Smith's account in the London edition, was Madre Santa Colomba, the moving spirit of a convent-school in Rome. Of Miss Nightingale's relations with the *madre*, Mrs. Woodham-Smith says: "... while she was in Rome the Roman Catholic Church gave her an experience which profoundly influenced the subsequent course of her life" (London edition, p. 71). By Mrs. Woodham-Smith's own account,

Florence Nightingale acquired from the *madre* an idea still fresh fifty years later: that the life of the true mystic (as Florence Nightingale thought herself to be) ought to bear fruit in active service to society on earth. *Every* mention of Madre Santa Colomba has been deleted from the American edition. Many other important omissions might be mentioned—frequently in the form of substituting a general formula for the precise details of Miss Nightingale's achievement. By Mrs. Woodham-Smith's own account, Florence Nightingale despised vague generalities. If it be said that these things are matters of taste, it is not a matter of taste to compress and abbreviate quotations without indication. Instances of this may be found on pages 54, 60, 63, 70-71, 165, 167, 222, 232, 244, 264, 287, 292, 300, and 333 of the American edition. In the use of quotations, no reliance can be put upon this edition; and for this reason, if no other, every scholarly library should purchase the edition published by Constable of London. Unhappily, the reader's confidence in Mrs. Woodham-Smith's original transcription of passages from the manuscript is badly shaken by this discovery; and in the case of unpublished materials, the offense is serious. But the offense, if any, need not have been compounded by her American publishers. In every respect, they have been guilty of irresponsibility.

*Brown University*

DONALD FLEMING

THE LIFE OF JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES. By R. F. Harrod. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 674. \$7.50.)

THIS biography of the English economist most prominent during the first half of the twentieth century is a challenge to historians and economists, separately and jointly.

A hard-pressed historian may be disinclined to examine rather carefully a lengthy biography which gives much space to economic theory, unless he reminds himself of at least three facts. First, that economic and monetary problems have assumed of late a much greater weight than formerly among the forces which strongly affect the course of history. Second, that those problems were precisely the ones on which Keynes strove hardest to affect both thinking and action. Third, that he achieved extraordinary influence, for a person never elected to office and but briefly in the civil service, and that this was due in part to his "flexibility," which his biographer insists was not "inconsistency" (pp. 199, 441), to his shifting of advocacies to keep them within the realm of what he considered "the possibilities of things" (p. 365). This flexibility shortened the time lag in his influence upon domestic and foreign affairs, but not enough to prevent Britons and some other nationals from sometimes applying to later, less fitting situations, expedients recommended for earlier and different conditions, so that they became more Keynesian than Keynes to his grief and that of no few others at home and abroad.

The challenge of this biography to economists lies in the fact that Keynes

continually stressed the modern dependence of wise government policy upon economic knowledge, believing that economists "are the trustees, not of civilization, but of the possibility of civilization" (p. 194). This theorist insisted upon the obligation to be a realist, to transmit thought into action for the preservation of the civilization he held dear. No ivory tower could content him. Harrod emphasizes strenuous work in four fields particularly: his fight against the 1919 treaty, which he blasted in *Economic Consequences of the Peace*; his arguments against re-establishing the old gold parity, summarized in Keynes's 1923 *Tract on Monetary Reform*; his campaign against underestimating the explosive force of unemployment, which was capped by his 1936 tome on *The General Theory of Unemployment, Interest and Money*; and his exhausting labors to husband Britain's shrinking resources with the aid of lend-lease, the loan to Britain, and the Bretton Woods institutions.

The challenge of this biography to historians and economists, jointly, lies in the fact that it demonstrates the need for purposeful and continual co-operation between scholars of the two disciplines. The economist most useful to his government is he who has a keen sense of historic origins, else he underestimates both the strengths and the weaknesses of the nation. The historian who proves most skilled in recent history is he who picks the brains of economists to round out his understanding of enviroing trends. Since each group so badly needs the other, any crossing of the imaginary lines of demarcation should be applauded rather than resented.

The demonstration of the challenge to historians and economists is found, of course, in Keynes's life span (1883-1946). This explanatory *Life*, written by an admiring, devoted, and close friend, carries the reader from Keynes's childhood in Cambridge, into the boyhood at Eton, studentship and donship at King's College, social and artistic delights of the esoteric Bloomsbury circle (pp. 171-94), editorship of the *Economic Journal* (1911-44), energetic and continuous authorship, labors at the India Office (1907-1908) and the Treasury (1915-19), and on into the titanic battles with the diplomats seeking political peace at Versailles and economic security at Washington.

Keynes's influence upon events was without benefit of elective office. This "Liberal" did not press his party activity much beyond contributions of money and some campaign speeches. His formal experience in public office consisted of the brief tours of duty in the India Office, whence sprang his highly praised *Indian Currency and Finance* (1913), and in the Treasury where, occupying "the key position at . . . the center of the inter-allied economic effort, he thought out the policy, and in effect bore the ultimate responsibility for the decisions and carried the business forward with a success that was universally acclaimed" (p. 206). His devastating and all-too-prophetic *Economic Consequences*, with its vitriolic vignettes of Wilson and Lloyd George and its aspersions on the British treaty-designers, was scarcely calculated to endear him to those who select civil servants. But he early accumulated by speculation in foreign exchange a com-

fortable competence allowing him freedom from the narrow income of a don. He could afford to function as an active, fearless critic of government. He did not return to quarters of his own in Whitehall until World War II impelled the Treasury to install him as an adviser, where he served without emolument or regular official rank but actually as the leading British instigator and negotiator in the vital arrangements for lend-lease, the loan to Britain, and the postwar institutions of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Always, whether possessed of a government desk or not, he was watching economic trends, national and international, often foreseeing causes and effects far in advance. Appointment to the Macmillan Committee on Finance and Industry (1930) and a few other committees which did the thorough, nonpartisan investigating possible under the British system, gave him a forum, and there were always his articles in the press and periodicals and his continual association with people of importance. In these groups Keynes was an antagonist to be feared. A negotiator whose first principle was to know both sides of a controversy, and especially that of his opponent better than he, could wage a memorable battle. To that precaution was added a remarkable command of the primary tool of argument—prose—and his could be forceful, light, deadly serious, brilliant, scathing, as he thought occasion required or as his fancy impelled him. Probably no modern economist has fought harder or more ably for actual implementation of his prescriptions. Harrod thinks Keynes was never even equaled in debate except once by Sir Richard Hopkins of the Treasury in 1930, when Chairman Macmillan observed that it was “a drawn battle” (p. 422).

Keynes had more influence than might have been expected for one who never acquired respect for politicians; his contempt was bold, honest, tactless, repeated; their stupidity was inhuman, they were as incompetent as they were mad, statesmen were to be classed with nursery maids, and the cabinet, sometimes, was “a poor, weak thing” (p. 619). Nor was he ever able to believe that bankers, as a class, were blessed with enough acumen to handle wisely the resources of a nation in travail. Keynes cultivated the art of rudeness to a high point and showed a persistent tendency to ridicule those in high authority.

Then how could the great and near-great bring themselves to seek his counsels and use his talents? Harrod says that it was because Keynes “had within him a flame of goodness exceeding that granted to most mortals” (p. 638). His sincerity, his intense desire for the nation’s welfare, his willingness to renounce his own ideas if he found others’ were better, his lack of pomposity and of self-importance, were obvious. Also, he had an extraordinary freedom from personal resentments—a forgivingness which he too readily assumed resided likewise in all persons with whom he exchanged the insults of heated debate. Herein Keynes was victimized by the virtue which hid from him his fault, as illustrated by his painful contretemps with Secretary of the Treasury Vinson at Savannah in 1946

(pp. 625-40). He was all the less prepared for this failure because so many Americans who worked and argued with him on his five difficult errands to this country grew so to know and understand him that they cherished deep friendship for him.

Despite the fact that Keynes was often disappointed by the short range of adopted policy, he remained, in the end, optimistic for fulfillment of his hopes. His optimism was animated by his liking for the experts, the economists, the literati, the artists, the students, the dons of Cambridge and Oxford, and other folk in the wide range of his multifarious life. At least Keynes knew that his "minutes" would be read and considered carefully when those in British high places had decisions to make. Those minutes would be likely to include what he had learned from "the backroom boys" (p. 536): the lesser civil servants whom he knew often proved to be springs of knowledge. Unfortunately for American government today, it often happens that comparatively little of meticulous data, prepared by backroom boys for wise decision-making, is actually pondered by the overbusy higher-ups, and much of this material never even receives their momentary gaze. Another quality which buoyed Keynes was his conviction that the British are a superior race; his faith in his countrymen supported even his most baneful task, the coming "as a beggar" (p. 601) for the loan which Britain needed but which Britons did not want. There is much in the narrative of Keynes's meetings with Americans which could advisedly acquaint future American negotiators with the kind of men they face across the council table.

Yet scholars of this or any other democracy—be they historians or economists—must guard themselves against this biography, for it has been done remarkably well and shortly after the death of its subject. It is so solid a piece of work (despite an occasional worshipful touch surely to be understood and expected) that it may prove peculiarly influential in determining later analyses of this man. Any immediate biography is likely to have too much influence; Harrod himself hints at this danger in describing Keynes's damning sketches of Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson (p. 261). Yet we of course are very grateful to Harrod for preserving so much that later would have been irrecoverable. We can wish we might have a like achievement for several of the Americans who dealt with Keynes.

At the same time we might ask the biographer to equip a second edition with a chronological appendix to help in following the innumerable activities of a many-sided man, and with a much better index. We do, however, attest our delight in a special device. He has thoughtfully placed, at the top of each left-hand page, the year pertinent to the events described thereon; opposite, on the right, he provides the corresponding age of Keynes, meticulously advancing it every June 5 of each year. A most convenient device for persons of chronological habit.

*Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

LOUIS PASTEUR, FREE LANCE OF SCIENCE. By *René J. Dubos*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 418. \$5.00.)

ON the occasion of the award of an honorary degree to the late William H. Park, director of laboratories of the New York City Board of Health, he was characterized by the president of Yale University as "the perfect type of scientist in the service of the state." This is an encomium which is equally applicable to Louis Pasteur, the subject of this new biography. Professor Dubos, himself an eminent microbiologist and an intellectual descendant of the man about whom he writes, has not merely rewritten the now well-known story of a great scientist—he has reviewed and reinterpreted his subject. If it be true that each generation writes its own version of past history, Dr. Dubos has not only successfully but brilliantly performed his self-assigned task. For the picture of Louis Pasteur which he has given us is exactly that of a scientist in the service of the state. And this is a peculiarly appropriate version at a time in our own history when the relation of the scientist to the state is under re-examination.

Louis Pasteur was born, lived, and died in the nineteenth century, during which much of the major structure of modern science was fabricated. It was the century of Mendeleef and the periodic table of the elements, of Wöhler and the synthesis of urea, of Darwin and the theory of evolution, of Faraday and Maxwell and Henry and the development of electromagnetic theory and practice, and last but not least the nineteenth century was the century of Louis Pasteur and the establishment of the germ theory of disease.

Born in 1822 in a village in the shadow of the Jura Mountains in France, Pasteur by the age of twenty-six was already famous for his discovery of the relation between the structure of crystals of organic substances and their ability to rotate the plane of polarized light. Elaboration of these findings kept him busy for ten years and led him into an investigation of the theory and mechanism of fermentation. Establishing that microorganisms, until then little studied, were the basic cause of this process, he made practical application of his findings in his studies on the diseases of beer and wine. His methods of control are immortalized in the term "Pasteurization." During this time he also worked on the silk-worm disease which was threatening an important industry in France and which Pasteur was able to save.

But lest we assume that all of Pasteur's work was practical we are reminded of the spectacular and fundamental researches on the theory of spontaneous generation. And finally come the studies on animal and human pathology which helped establish the germ theory of disease and the principles of immunity.

Pasteur's basic aim was to devote himself to theoretical and fundamental studies such as the structure of crystals and the origin of life. Yet continually he was drawn away to practical applications which stemmed from his more abstruse investigations. He was directed into the practical studies because he was



a servant of the state. Yet he reiterated time and again that there are not two forms of science—pure and applied—but only science and the application of science. "Without theory," he wrote, "practice is but routine born of habit. Theory alone can bring forth and develop the spirit of invention." Those who have followed recent developments in science during and after World War II will recognize the applicability of this aphorism.

Space does not permit a detailed review of Dr. Dubos' analysis of Pasteur's work and its relation to the times in which he lived. Suffice it to say that those historians who concern themselves with the impact of science upon society will find in this book a rich mine of relevant and rewarding material. The life of Pasteur has lessons of importance not only for the natural scientist but for the social scientist as well.

*Washington, D.C.*

MORRIS C. LEIKIND

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). 2<sup>e</sup> Série (1901-1911), tome XI (15 MAI 1907-8 FÉVRIER 1909). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1950. Pp. 1, 1119.)

THE first part of this latest volume of the admirably edited French diplomatic documents reflects European comparative calm and even hope for a better international understanding. The Second Hague Conference established a permanent tribunal which soon happily manifested its great value by the equitable arbitration settlement, printed in the appendix, of the Casablanca fracas between the French military authorities and the German consulate which had assisted Germans to desert from the French Foreign Legion. Accords were also negotiated to guarantee the integrity and independence of Norway (lately separated from Sweden), and the status quo in the North Sea and in the Baltic. Anglo-Russian rivalry in the Middle East seemed more or less settled by the convention of August 31, 1907.

Soon, however, stormy feelings and increased tension were caused by many things: Ferdinand of Bulgaria's ambition to become independent, rival Balkan railway projects and atrocities in Macedonia, the Young Turk Revolution, and Aehrenthal's haste in annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina. A further factor was the German kaiser's temperamental instability, again reflected in his Döberitz speech on "encirclement" and his amazingly indiscreet interviews, one published in the London *Daily Telegraph*, and the other with W. H. Hale which, it is said, was fortunately dumped into the Atlantic just as it was about to appear in the *Century Magazine*. The gist of it, apparently known to the British Foreign Office and aimed mainly against Edward VII, if published, would have made impossible the king's projected visit to Berlin (pp. 917-19, 944-45). On all these

causes of tension there are many very interesting details but few new points of great importance.

The subject that is most fully treated, with much that is new and valuable, is, as one might expect, the persistent ground swell of Franco-German hostility and its undercurrents in the Moroccan aftermath of Algeciras. Jules Cambon repeatedly complained of the "ungentlemanly" Germans in general and of the inveterate Bismarckian traditions of the Wilhelmstrasse bureaucrats in particular. Bülow, however, hiding behind a false façade of optimism, is seen to be vacillating, insecure of his position in consequence of the *Daily Telegraph* affair and the internal opposition of Roman Catholics and Conservatives to his taxation program and of the Social Democrats to nearly everything. In the summer of 1907, in order to satisfy the clamor of German merchants and industrialists for a greater share in the economic exploitation of Morocco, with Bülow's approval, French and German agents in Tangiers carried on long negotiations for a draft proposal to effect this. The French agreed, but then Bülow dropped the subject when Mulay Hafid stirred troubled waters anew by revolting against Sultan Abd-el-Aziz. France stood by the latter as long as possible. Though Mulay Hafid was probably given underhand support by local German agents and certainly asked for German military instructors and munitions, the higher authorities in Paris and Berlin maintained a firm but courteous and "correct" attitude. Mulay Hafid was finally recognized by all the Algeciras powers when he promised, "with the help of God," to pay the debts of his predecessor. Bülow then took up again the dropped economic negotiations, and the resulting agreement, with which the volume ends, was signed on February 8, 1909.

In the crystallizing system of alliances England and France were drawing ever closer together in secret exchange of information and mutual confidence at a time when England felt panicky over the German navy and the possibility of being invaded. Huguet, the French military attaché in London, sent long and very interesting reports on England's military preparations. In one of them he made a remarkably prescient forecast of 1914: Germany's necessity to invade Belgium and England's to send troops to defend northern France (pp. 932-36). Izvolski caused some annoyance at the Quai d'Orsay by his mercurial temperament, his fear of offending Germany, and his insistence on the recall of Bompard, the French ambassador in St. Petersburg. Bompard's conservative and aristocratic successor, Admiral Touchard, showed proper tact in his cautious handling of pressure by French industrialists for more favorable treatment in the award of Russian contracts in view of a new 1,220,000,000-franc loan to Russia. Italy's irredentist irritation at Austria was so increased by Achrenthal's annexation of Bosnia, expulsion of Italian students from the University of Vienna, and refusal to establish an Italian university at Trieste, that Tittoni secretly stated that, though Italy would not attack Austria for at least three years, "in no case," not even if France were the aggressor, would she send troops to aid Germany. Thus the balance

of strength and solidarity was turning in favor of the Triple Entente, a fact not a little due to the wisdom, firmness, and self-restraint of M. Pichon, French foreign minister throughout this period.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

STORIA POLITICA D'ITALIA: PREPONDERANZA SPAGNUOLA (1559-1700). Edited by *Romolo Quazza*, dell'Università di Torino. (2d ed.; Milan: Francesco Vallardi. 1950. Pp. xx, 631.)

THE potent attraction exerted upon students of history by the apparently clear peaks has tended to render the plains and valleys of Clio's domain less romantically interesting than they really are. In history there is much in a name and that which we call the Renaissance and the Risorgimento, less happily named, would perhaps not entice so strongly. The real or assumed prominence of such periods has many subtle consequences and at least one obvious result: whatever lies before, between, or after them must of necessity be relegated into some kind of semantic and historiographical chiaroscuro. Thus, like "medieval" and "Byzantine," the term "baroque" inevitably lost its literary, technical, or purely descriptive function and, until it was partially rescued by the art-historians, became generally synonymous with "decadent." Given the milieu in which the modern historical spirit came to fruition in Italy during the nineteenth century, it could hardly thrive without a rejection of the "baroque" as the antithesis, which it was among other things, of "national." Even a "pure" historian like Ettore Callegari paid homage to that trend of *a priori* repudiation when, as Romolo Quazza's predecessor in the old Vallardi historical series, he practically apologized to the readers of his *Preponderanze straniere* (1895) for his having undertaken to deal with so dreary a period of Italian history as that which went from the invasion of Charles VIII to the coming of Napoleon Bonaparte. The ossification of assumptions on the *cinquecento* and the *seicento* was an accomplished and accepted fact in Callegari's day. It is symptomatic of the tenacity of such phenomena that Quazza, dealing with much the same period (trimmed down at both ends to 1559 and 1700) after half a century of the fruitful historiographical developments recently evaluated by Walter Maturi, must still implicitly combat the nineteenth-century legacy in this field.

Professor Quazza is known to students of seventeenth-century European history for his studies and articles on the Italian phase of the 'Thirty Years' War: his basic work on the war of the Mantuan and Montferrat succession has been widely cited. In Book III, Part II, chapter v of the present volume he has clearly distilled his previous findings in this field. This work on Italy during the period of the Spanish preponderance should become indispensable to all historians interested in the early modern period. Despite the title page, the work is distinctly Professor Quazza's own, and direct as well as internal evidence clearly

shows this. In richness of factual material, up-to-date bibliographical information, and authoritative treatment of Italian internal and foreign politics of the seventeenth century this volume has no equal. The lists of rulers, governors, and viceroys given on pages 195-98 will be found especially useful by all those who have ever had to deal with the intricate and sometimes exasperating problem of political and diplomatic chronology in this period.

Professor Quazza's admirable manual succeeds in clearing some of the historiographical debris accumulated on aspects of this period of Italian history. The book contains much interesting material on the demographic, social, economic, institutional, administrative, moral, and cultural life of Italy. But it is so schematically presented that it loses the importance it really has or was intended to have. Except in the suggestive introduction, this precious material is given no clear position of relationship, causality, or continuity in the state of Italy for a hundred and fifty years. The ultimate result is different from and, paradoxically, similar to that obtained with other methods and intentions in Braudel's monumental volume on the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II. The illustrative function of socio-economic facts rather than their continuous and complex evolution is emphasized by Quazza though he, unlike Braudel, has no organic synthesis as his goal. But the subtly erosive work of time upon the apparently static geoeconomic Italian milieu is not made evident in Quazza's study. By 1600, 1650, 1700—the impression is inescapable—names change but the realities which were institutions, social classes, and political elites appear to have remained the same as in 1560. The cumulative effect of the episodic eludes the reader so that the shifting balance of international, political, and economic power in Italy and in Europe as well as the immense moral and intellectual change and the cultural transformation do not loom as the larger facts in whose perspective alone the details of Italian life can gain meaning.

The division of the volume into three books dealing respectively with the internal developments of the Italian states, the Counter Reformation, and foreign relations is theoretically acceptable but in practice becomes perplexing. Perplexity is turned into something like confusion for the reader when the presentation of the material in each chapter is carefully examined. The fragmentation of this material, whose authenticity and reliability are never in question, deprives the book of the character it might have had. This is not a true work of history but rather a useful and authoritative factual manual and work of reference. Those who are acquainted with Professor Quazza's interpretation of pre-Risorgimento history will perhaps recognize a design implicit in his method. Since he grants that the only unitary element in Italian history is cultural (pp. 9-10) and since culture is only incidentally presented in his work, the inference may be drawn that his chief purpose here is to reconstruct the political reality and complexity of the late *cinquecento* and *seicento* "as it actually was"—from ruler to ruler, from pope to pope, and from duke to duke. The final impression resembles the feeling

of some fundamental insufficiency here despite the abundance of facts: the addition of the parts of this rich volume does not give the sum of the large historical reality which was Italy from 1559 to 1700. Professor Quazza's volume might lead the superficial and hasty to the false conclusion that by 1700 though much had naturally happened in Italy little had actually happened to Italy as a whole.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

CHIESA E STATO IN ITALIA NEGLI ULTIMI CENTO ANNI. By *Arturo Carlo Jemolo*. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1949. Pp. 752. L. 2000.)

STORIA DEL PARTITO POPOLARE ITALIANO. By *Stefano Jacini*. (Milan: Garzanti. 1951. Pp. xvi, 345. L. 1000.)

WITH Italy under a Christian Democratic government and the Catholic Church playing a more influential role in Italian politics than it has at any time since the unification of the country, it is natural that Italian historians should be turning to questions of church-state relations. The two books under consideration, while widely contrasting in scope and profundity, both deal with essentially the same problem: the role of the Catholic Church and of Christian Democratic political parties in a state that was originally established on laical and even anti-clerical principles. Both authors are Catholics; both believe that Catholicism and political democracy are reconcilable. But while Professor Jemolo writes as an independent, respectfully critical both of the papacy and of organized Christian Democracy, Senator Jacini—the bearer of a name famous for a century in Italian public life—speaks with the emotion and personal commitment of an actual participant in the parliamentary battle.

Professor Jemolo's book is by far the more important of the two. It is probably the most widely acclaimed work on internal Italian history that has appeared since the fall of Fascism; in 1949, it won the *Premio Viareggio*, Italy's outstanding literary award. Professor Jemolo combines a wide professional learning in church law and church history—his field of academic specialization—with an unusual literary talent. In this combination lie both the strength and the deficiencies of his book. On the one hand, it offers a solid, painstaking reconstruction of the juridical and ideological elements in the long struggle between church and state since the advent of Pius IX in 1846. On the other hand, it succeeds in evoking in a few graceful, subtly modulated phrases the major scenes, the personalities, and the literary manifestos of a controversy whose intricate convolutions defy summary and simplification. Professor Jemolo has the historian's rare gift of appreciating the arguments and the motives of both sides and of presenting them with a visual directness. To this reviewer, for example, the figure of Leo XIII has never appeared so compellingly as here: while fully understanding the profound impression that the pope made on his contemporaries, Professor

Jemolo calls *Rerum Novarum* an "over-praised encyclical" whose "real merit . . . consists in not having left without a complement the clearly anti-socialist positions of the *Syllabus*."

Between these two aspects of the book, however, a certain amount of straight "history" simply gets lost. Professor Jemolo's account has a discursive, uneven, episodic character: it frequently leaves us to piece out from a few passing references what was the actual course of events. For Italians, all this may be familiar as childhood memories. But for non-Italians who are not specialists in the field, such a method will doubtless prove bewildering. In this respect, Professor Jemolo's treatment of the settlement of 1929 contrasts unfavorably with the much fuller account given by D. A. Binchy in his admirable *Church and State in Fascist Italy*—a work, incidentally, with which the former appears to be unacquainted.

Senator Jacini's book is more modest in scope. It is a sober, largely parliamentary chronicle of the *Partito Popolare*, the ancestor of present-day Christian Democracy. Since its author was one of the leaders of the earlier party and now sits in the Italian senate as spokesman for the more conservative wing of Christian Democracy, his account is necessarily official and for the most part uncritical. It has the endorsement of both Don Luigi Sturzo, the founder of the People's party, and of Prime Minister De Gasperi, his political heir. With this official patronage, Senator Jacini's book almost inevitably becomes a defense and explanation of the "Center" policy of the party's leaders. He minimizes the importance of the dissident factions of the Right and the Left—except for the near-revolutionary agrarian movement led by Guido Miglioli, which he finds too important to ignore. And Miglioli he attacks as a kind of crypto-Bolshevik. In fact, to Senator Jacini, the whole program of co-operation between the People's party and the Socialists in the "Aventine" opposition to Mussolini—which most historians have regarded as the sole realistic alternative to Fascism—appears as a questionable expedient which the *Popolare* leadership very rightly approached with caution. Similarly, toward the early philo-Fascism of Pius XI, Senator Jacini shows more sorrow than anger. And such, indeed, is the predominant attitude toward Fascism in general that emerges from the admirably arranged series of documents in which the author allows the *Popolari* themselves to explain their course in the confused period following the march on Rome, when they were gradually evolving from qualified support through loyal opposition to opposition pure and simple.

Professor Jemolo, in contrast, dismisses more abruptly the hesitations and long suffering of the People's party. His is a frankly anti-Fascist account, and his negative judgment on Pius XI pierces through his carefully chosen phraseology. For Professor Jemolo, then, the present Christian Democratic government is not the logical continuation of social Catholic endeavor that it must be for Senator Jacini. It is rather an "anti-Risorgimento" regime that in taking over intact the Concordat of 1929 has incorporated in its relations with the church some highly illib-



eral provisions inherited from Fascism. The two contrasting positions are both buttressed by able historical argumentation: Professor Jemolo's is the better thought out, but it is Senator Jacini's that in the Italy of today is gradually winning the ideological battle.

*Harvard University*

H. STUART HUGHES

RICORDI, 1922-1946. By *Raffaele Guariglia*. (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1949. Pp. 783. L. 1400.)

WRITTEN by the Italian foreign minister during the infelicitous "45 days" that Marshal Badoglio governed Italy between the *coup d'état* of July 25 and the proclamation of the armistice with the Allies on September 8, 1943, these memoirs are a prolix but important contribution to the literature of the dispute over the manner in which King Victor Emmanuel III and Marshal Badoglio detached Italy from Nazi Germany and surrendered their country to the Allies.

Many Italians, including most of the historic anti-Fascists, antimonarchists, as well as numerous military officials, have bitterly denounced the delays of Badoglio in ending the war—delays which allegedly enabled Germany to pour large numbers of troops into Italy prior to the Salerno invasion. The rise to political power after September, 1943, of the anti-Fascist groups was facilitated by the widespread condemnation by the Italian public of the Badoglio policies. Other Italians, comprising largely conservative, intensely nationalistic, pro-monarchical elements, together with many military officials, have insisted that the Badoglio government *had* to delay the rupture with Germany until such time as this would not entail complete disaster for Italy, and in the interests of national honor *had* to resist capitulation to the Allies on the basis of "unconditional surrender." Belonging to the latter school of thought, Guariglia argues his case with skill: (1) Because of insufficient Italian troops and inadequate petroleum stores in the summer of 1943, Italy would have committed suicide had she, acting unilaterally, detached herself from Germany. (2) "Playing for time" with Germany was imperative in order that Italian troops garrisoning France and the Balkans might be repatriated. (3) Italy had to persuade the Allies to alter their "unconditional surrender" formula in order to arrange for co-ordinated action to resist Germany at the moment of the proclamation of the eventual armistice. The Badoglio government hoped to delay proclamation of the armistice until after Allied landings in force and to persuade the Allies to invade northern Italy—Civitavecchia in the west and Rimini in the east—in order to protect Rome. It is hardly likely that Badoglio appreciated the insuperable logistical problems that such a change in plans would have entailed for the Allies, or that he understood the seriousness with which Anglo-American public opinion insisted upon the enemy's capitulation prior to the inauguration of any policy of altruism.

Insisting that he did not needlessly delay initiation of contacts with the

Allies after July 25, Guariglia rests most of his case on the fact that on August 2 he dispatched to Lisbon Marchese d'Ajeta for the purpose of "clarifying the Italian situation" to the Allies. Although d'Ajeta was, admittedly, not empowered to "initiate negotiations," it apparently was hoped that d'Ajeta's contact might lay the basis for military discussions that would make possible Italy's exit from the war after a successful Allied invasion. On August 4 d'Ajeta was officially received by the British ambassador to Portugal, who forwarded his message to London. Guariglia does not know why London failed to respond. On August 4 Badoglio dispatched to Tangiers a minor official, Alberto Berio, with instructions to persuade the Allies to cease bombing Italian cities and to entice German troops away from Italy by means of Allied landings in southern France and/or the Balkans. Making his contact at Tangiers on August 5, Berio was informed by the British representative there on August 13 that Italy must unconditionally surrender before anything else could be discussed. Still another envoy was dispatched to neutral territory in August: Alberto Pirelli, who went to Switzerland, with negative results. Most important of all was the mission of General Castellano, who departed from Rome by train August 12 for Lisbon and who did not return until August 27. Like everyone else, Castellano was not empowered to sign an armistice. Until his return, the Badoglio government had no positive information regarding the development of its negotiations with the Allies, and even then there was no synchronized military plan, inasmuch as Italy had not yet agreed to capitulate. As if enough men had not already been sent to "explain the Italian situation" to the Allies, Badoglio in August dispatched—unbeknownst to Guariglia—General Zanussi to Lisbon, a mission that seemingly served only to confuse the Allies more than ever.

Guariglia grudgingly admits (p. 666) that the Italian government by late August should have stopped deluding itself regarding the possibility of changing the "unconditional surrender" formula. It is too bad that at the outset Guariglia and his associates did not recognize that necessity, for if their government had signed—without publication perhaps—the surrender document, doubtless the Allies would have been much less diffident toward the Italian government, and the two parties could have worked out timely and co-ordinated military plans.

The events that took place between August 27 and the proclamation of the armistice on September 8 form an almost unparalleled tragedy of errors and stupidity. Apart from contributions to the subject by Anglo-American observers, the historian now has available a plethora of Italian memoirs, including those of Marshal Badoglio, Ivanoe Bonomi, Generals Castellano, Rossi, Carboni, and Roatta, Police Chief Senise, and the study by Paolo Monelli, *Roma 1943*. The outside observer can hardly avoid the conclusion that—apart from the dubious wisdom of the Allied "unconditional surrender" policy—most of the censure for the blunders in this period must be placed on the *entourage* of Badoglio, many of whom were unconscionably naive, unrealistic, and even derelict in

their duty to prepare for any eventuality. Nothing in Guariglia's polemic basically alters this conclusion.

Guariglia describes in abundant but tedious detail his activities as a professional diplomat after 1922. Particularly annoying, in view of the author's professional background, are the repeated misspellings of foreign names. More important defects arise from the author's intransigent nationalism which enables him to countenance almost every action of foreign policy by Fascist Italy and to justify his continued association with the Fascist regime, which he served "not docilely but often enthusiastically" until about 1938 (p. 756). Also regrettable is Guariglia's seeming inability to comprehend the importance of public opinion in shaping Anglo-American foreign policy, his underestimation of the sincerity with which Anglo-Americans viewed the ideological and ethical issues at stake in World War II, and his generally condescending if not contemptuous attitude toward the Italian anti-Fascists. In spite of the defects in interpretation caused by the prejudices of the author, the book must be considered a significant primary source for the historian of contemporary Italian diplomatic history.

*University of Oregon*

CHARLES F. DELZELL

PORTUGUESE RULE AND SPANISH CROWN IN SOUTH AFRICA,  
1581-1640. By *Sidney R. Welch*. (Cape Town: Juta and Company. 1950.  
Pp. 634. 30s.)

THIS is still another volume in the ambitious and comprehensive history of the Portuguese in South Africa which Dr. Welch is writing. In it the story is brought through the years 1581-1640, the so-called "Babylonian Captivity," which began when Philip II of Castile inherited the throne and ended when the Portuguese repudiated Philip IV in order to re-establish their own national monarchy. Portuguese historians generally believe that the union of the peninsular crowns under the house of Austria was a disaster for their country, but Dr. Welch, on the contrary, defends it as beneficial to Portugal. Portugal, he says, while not losing her identity as a separate kingdom, profited from the superior power of Castile at a time when protection was most needed. He does, however, feel that the Portuguese were uncomfortable under the arrangement and that their revolution of 1640, which ushered in a new dynasty, was amply justified. Dr. Welch will take up these developments in greater detail in his next book, and we should withhold judgment in this regard until his evidence is all in.

Certainly the period covered by Dr. Welch's book is an exciting one insofar as the Portuguese possessions and spheres of influence in Africa are concerned, from the Gulf of Guinea to the Cape of Good Hope and from the cape on the other side of the continent to the Red Sea. This was the time when the Dutch and the English were disputing Portugal's well-established hegemony on the Indian Ocean and in Angola, and were also fighting each other. The activities

of Portugal's two major European rivals do not, of course, form a pretty picture. As Dr. Welch again points out, the Dutch were especially guilty of horrible crimes; and he shows in what a thoroughly materialistic and ruthless manner the Dutch East India Company built up an empire in Malaya. Dr. Welch by no means excuses the depredations of the English, but he recognizes the weakness of their position during the heyday of Dutch power and praises their willingness, possibly because they were weak, to come to some understanding with the Portuguese.

As regards the Portuguese, Dr. Welch takes historians to task for having concluded (in his opinion hastily) that Portugal at this time was already at the mercy of supposedly superior rivals (as she was very definitely to be in the nineteenth century). The author abundantly shows the extent of Portuguese power, which was still formidable, and the additional strength of the Portuguese which came to them from the tradition they had developed of mutual respect and understanding with the exotic peoples of Africa and India. Dr. Welch feels that if the Dutch and the English had followed Portugal's successful pattern of building an empire, and if they had joined forces with the Portuguese instead of opposing them, Europe's legacy in the Orient would have been infinitely richer than it is and would probably not have led to the bitterness which the East now feels toward the West. The author is of course primarily concerned with Africa south of the equator, and most of his book is devoted to the history of the Portuguese in that area; but since Mozambique was under the administration of the viceroy of India, with headquarters in Goa, his story must necessarily have a broad imperial sweep.

Dr. Welch's idea of history is amply illustrated in this volume as in the others already published in the series. He believes that facts must be seen in the light of the causes and motives that produced them (insofar as it is possible for us to apprehend them), and that acts may be (and indeed ought to be) judged in accordance with the moral law. There is a freshness in this book, partly the result of the author's approach to history and partly the result of his own vivid style, that makes the subject both interesting and timely. It goes without saying that the field of Portuguese African history, to which a number of other scholars in the Union of South Africa have also contributed, owes Dr. Welch a tremendous debt of gratitude.

There are 595 footnotes to sources in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, French, Latin, English, Dutch, and German, a truly magnificent harvest of materials. The book alas is filled with typographical errors. Under the circumstances a page of errata would have helped.

*Catholic University of America*

MANOEL CARDOZO

MARTIN LUTHER UND DIE REFORMATION IM URTEIL DES DEUTSCHEN LUTHERTUMS: STUDIEN ZUM SELBSTVERSTÄNDNIS DES

LUTHERISCHEN PROTESTANTISMUS VON LUTHERS TODE BIS ZUM BEGINN DER GOETHEZEIT. I. Band: DARSTELLUNG. By *Ernst Walter Zeeden*, Dozent der Neueren Geschichte an der Universität Freiburg i. Br. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1950. Pp. 389. DM. 14.)

THIS is another of those histories of the historiography of a movement which induce a certain despondency as to the possibility of objectivity, for plainly every period has discovered its own interests in the past, and has in so doing distorted the historical. This book deals only with Lutheran portrayals of Luther and the Reformation. The first generation including Melancthon and Mathesius saw in Luther an apocalyptic figure in the celestial drama of the fight of Christ against Antichrist. By the end of the sixteenth century the shift had been made from the personal to dogmatic theology. Luther became a Byzantine stereotype and his teaching was equated with the word of God, though controversy arose as to what his teaching actually had been.

The seventeenth century was marked by a yearning for the reunion of Christendom, notably on the part of Leibnitz. Differences between the confessions were minimized and absolutes were softened. Pietism, as represented by Spener, shifted the center from theology to personal experience and Luther became the great witness to evangelical piety. Gottfried Arnold, church historian of Pietism, introduced a treatment of Luther which has ever since been popular in left-wing Protestantism, involving a distinction between the early Luther portrayed as an evangelical rebel and the later Luther as an intolerant dogmatist.

The Enlightenment, whose best-known representative is Lessing, saw in the Reformation an uncompleted rebellion against superstition. The movement was thus treated historically rather than theologically. Political absolutism, as exemplified in Frederick the Great, interpreted the Reformation as due in part to resentment against political and commercial exploitation. The reform itself was considered also to be an emancipation from superstition and a step toward freedom of religion. Herder also saw in Luther the champion of independent investigation, and at the same time emphasized in him the note of German nationalism. In general the eighteenth century was disposed to stress the spirit against the letter in Luther, and rejected much that he said and did in favor of his spirit which authorized his successors to do otherwise.

The study comes down only to the eve of Goethe. It is highly illuminating and particularly significant because written by a Catholic.

*Yale University*

ROLAND H. BAINTON

GEIST UND GESCHICHTE VOM DEUTSCHEN HUMANISMUS BIS ZUR GEGENWART. By *Heinrich Ritter von Srbik*. Volume I. (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag. 1950. Pp. xi, 437. S. 110.)

THE difficulties inherent in Heinrich von Srbik's volume on German histori-

ography (the publisher rather than the author is responsible for the title) are indicative of the early stage of development in which the history of historical writing still finds itself. Such writers in this field as Fueter, Gooch, and Thompson accept the biographical basis; in the reviewer's opinion, this attitude is best refuted in the two volumes that Croce dedicated to nineteenth-century historical writing in Italy, so that one of the best historiographies has been written on a period which did not know great historical writing. The attempt of Troeltsch in his *Historismus* to single out two problems and to present the history of history by carefully surveying their development, can not do full justice to the individualities of the great historians. "*Individuum est ineffabile*," certainly within the frame of a very limited number of problems.

In conformity with his general historical approach, which derives from Ranke, Srbik decided to present German historiography against a broader background: first, as interwoven with the political and social history of the nation; and second, as part of European historical writing at large. Because of the infinitely better preparation carried out for the first aspect, the author succeeded more fully in its presentation than he did in that of the second aspect, where some minor misrepresentations crept in.

Srbik's work under review is dedicated to Meinecke, whose influence on the whole concept can easily be traced; but it also brings forth the differences between the two great German historians: while the Berlin historian excels in penetrating analyses of thought, Srbik takes a broader approach and gives evidence of experiences not granted fully to Meinecke, like the genuine understanding of southern and Catholic German thought. In *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, probably the most penetrating study on historical thought (though not on historical writing or vision), Meinecke stopped short of Ranke, whose writings were to have formed the climax of the work: Srbik wisely planned and made this master the core of his first volume, allowing here, and correctly here, the biographical approach to unfold fully while he kept it within strict limits for all the other writers whom he discussed.

By and large Srbik accepts the Ranke portrait as outlined by Meinecke and his school. He was not acquainted with the criticisms that Dr. von Laue raised against the basic intellectual and political attitudes of the German historian in *Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years* (Princeton, 1950), but he would not have been willing—just as the reviewer is not—to subscribe to von Laue's statement that Lord Acton "was a greater man than Ranke, although less productive as a historian." On the basis of two publications of Ranke correspondence (both issued in 1949), Srbik was able to investigate the two problems that form the center of Laue's discussion: the relation between historical writing and political activity, and Ranke's own participation in politics that had already led a contemporary of his—Droysen, of course—to refer to the "eunuchism of historical objectivity" (p. 371). Bearing in mind the evidence as presented by Srbik, it will hardly be pos-



sible to doubt that Ranke was fully aware of the interconnection between historical writing and political activity, though he considered an indirect way congenial to the historian in influencing politics. Similarly, he preferred the historian to be instrumental in shaping the general intellectual climate rather than a single decision. No doubt is left that his sympathies—just as those of Savigny—were with the moderate-conservative forces. However, there existed shortcomings in Ranke's attitude (these, too, shared by Savigny) which Srbik does not present fully: an example is afforded by Ranke's unwarranted optimism, today hardly believable, an optimism characteristic of much of the outstanding European nineteenth-century writing; the Berlin historian seems to have been aware neither of Karl Marx nor of Nietzsche; yet to this ignorance we owe that feeling of security out of which Ranke turned to write the *Universal History*. Certain deficiencies of his presentation may be connected with the character of the main sources that he used.

As in all great historical writing, the personality of the author shines through Srbik's work; this is especially clear when he comes to deal with the "Borussian" historians against whose oversimplification in presenting German history Srbik devoted much of his own lifelong research.

In the wake of Ranke—and, as a matter of fact, also of Polybius and Bossuet—Srbik, too, considers the political factor to be at the core of historical writing, albeit he understands this factor in its broadest sense. However, being himself a master in the field of the auxiliary sciences—his Wallenstein inquiry evidences it—he gives more attention to the development of this branch of studies than most writers on historiography do; still, he is far from assigning to these sciences that exaggerated importance that positivists in all countries are likely to bestow on them.

The meaning of a qualified historicism, a position that Srbik claims for himself, stressing that there exist values in history which can not and should not be presented as relative, will probably become clearer in the second volume of this, his last work. This volume will deal with "Intellectual History and Historicism" in a special chapter and will so continue as to include a discussion of the racial historical doctrine of National Socialism.

One merit, and a merit that cannot be disregarded, of the volume under review consists in the fact that Srbik has put in his right place Fueter, whose *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* has done considerable damage to gifted young students of history by leading them, through its all too smooth presentation, to the belief that no problems remained but those that he, the historian of Zurich, had been willing to see.

Catholic University of America

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

GESCHICHTE DES NATIONALISMUS IN EUROPA. By *Eugen Lemberg*.  
(Stuttgart: Curt E. Schwab, 1950. Pp. 319, DM. 14.80.)

NATIONALISMUS UND SÄKULARISATION: BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE UND PROBLEMATIK DES NATIONALGEISTES. By Reinhard Wittram. (Lüneburg: Heliand-Verlag. 1949. Pp. 86. DM. 2.80.)

THE catastrophe of German nationalism within twelve years, after having proclaimed its millenary mission, has rekindled the interest in the problems of nationalism among German scholars and writers. Dr. Lemberg became well known before World War II by his competent studies in Bohemian and Flemish nationalism. During the war he became *Privatdozent* at the German University of Prague and, after the war, he was expelled with the other Sudeten Germans from his native Bohemia. His present attempt at a synthesis of the history of European (predominantly Continental) nationalism from the Renaissance to the present period, which he regards as the age of the "crisis of nationalism," is mostly remarkable for its defense of nationalism, especially the romantic nationalism of central and eastern Europe, and even of National Socialism.

Dr. Lemberg, who writes in an easy and pleasing style, clearly distinguishes between the two different kinds of nationalism, the rational and political one characteristic of western Europe and the United States, and the irrational organic one mostly represented by the Germans and the Slavs. This later concept originated with Herder. His folk theory was deeply embedded in the humanitarian and pacifist tradition of the Enlightenment. The whole danger of this folk theory became obvious, once the rationalist-individualist foundations of the eighteenth century were abandoned. Nowhere, however, was this revolt against the West, of emotionalism (*die Macht des Gemütes*) against reason, of the potency of the subconscious forces of blood and soil against the liberty of the individual will, of the organic community of the past against progress, as pronounced as among the Germans. "*So wurde das organische Denken, wurde die Romantik zu einer Art nationaler Ideologie, zum Programm der deutschen Wiedergeburt*" (p. 217).

National Socialism is explained by Dr. Lemberg as a necessary and inevitable attempt to organize Europe. The Germans in 1938 were faced, or so Dr. Lemberg believes, by the task of a supranational Reich which would order all the various nationalities of central and central-eastern Europe. This recalls the many books published during the war, such as Karl Richard Ganzer's *Das Reich als europäische Ordnungsmacht*, which was interpreted as a "*Bekennnis zu einem neuen Europa*," not as imperialism, but to quote Professor Erich Botzenhart of the University of Göttingen, "*als geschichtlich begründete Ordnung und Führung — ein unverlierbarer und unabdingbarer Auftrag und Anspruch vor uns selbst, vor Europa und vor der Welt.*" Some of this spirit is still in Dr. Lemberg's book. By the occupation of Austria in 1938, Germany, according to Dr. Lemberg, assumed a responsibility for the fate of the non-Germanic peoples in the Danubian area. No wonder that these peoples and all those who desire a peaceful Europe will look with utmost skepticism at a "union" of Austria with Germany.

Dr. Lemberg praises nationalism because it lifts man above himself into the

service of a greater whole. But he rarely asks whether this greater whole is morally better than the individual, whether collective egoism is of greater value than individual egoism. Dr. Lemberg finds moving words for the anti-Christian or pre-Christian "ethical" ideals of National Socialism and for Hitler's faith of being the instrument of a mission bestowed upon him by a higher power (*eine ihm von einer höheren Macht erteilte Mission*). Whether this mission was imposed by the Germanic gods, for a realization of the pre-Christian ethics which "*eine durchaus ernst zu nehmende Forschung*" had reconstructed "*aus den germanischen Überlieferungen*," we are not told (pp. 279-81). But we are told that German nationalism after 1918 was as understandable a reaction against defeat as French nationalism after 1871. It is true that Imperial Marshal MacMahon became president of France in May, 1873, and Imperial Marshal Hindenburg became president of the Reich in April, 1925. But in January, 1879, MacMahon was ousted by the rising tide of French democracy, while Hindenburg in January, 1933, ousted the weak vestiges of German democracy. The French Republic emerged triumphantly from the Boulanger and Dreyfus crises, and the great names of 1914 were Clemenceau, Jaurès, and Péguy, not Déroulède, Maurras, or Barrès. In 1933 the great names in Germany were Hitler and all the professors and writers greeting enthusiastically this prophet of a new dispensation; the parallel breaks down in the essential point.

Dr. Lemberg's conclusion that "after the collapse the increasing nationalism must be recognized and accepted as psychologically necessary" (p. 305) seems historically not justified and practically dangerous. It is more than doubtful whether such books can help in the "*Überwindung des Nationalismus*" which in a final section Dr. Lemberg thinks desirable.

The problematic character of nationalism is much more clearly seen in the short book by Professor Wittram. It consists of three lectures of which the one on "Church and Nationalism in the History of the German Protestantism in the Nineteenth Century" will be the most interesting for the non-German scholar. It contains a wealth of material not easily accessible.

Professor Wittram does not glorify nationalism; he recognizes its dangers. In 1848, and since, many Germans in their awakened nationalism believed in the cultural mission, "*die welthistorische Aufgabe der Deutschen*," to spread order and civilization among the peoples east and southeast of Germany. "At the time of this pronouncement—seemingly a result of history itself, which was now only made conscious by the rise of nationalism—the historical conditions for claims of this kind were in full disintegration because of the simultaneous national awakening of the smaller peoples. And nobody saw that the age of nationalism in Europe which produced such a missionary claim, made its realization impossible" (p. 19). A state which wishes to serve a national purpose and to become the servant of a national idea, suffers in its real task of assuring peace and justice. Professor Wittram knows that "we made a grievous mistake

concerning the leadership role of the German people" (p. 75). And he quotes an observation which Ranke wrote in 1832: "Who will ever define in concept or words what is German? It would become only another will-o'-the-wisp seducing us to other false roads."

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

GESCHICHTE UND ABENTEUER: GESTALTEN UM DEN PRINZEN EUGEN. By *Max Braubach*. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1950. Pp. viii, 458. Ln. DM. 17.50.)

SINCE the end of the war Max Braubach, the Bonn historian of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has published an imposing array of books based on original research relating mainly to Cologne and Bonn. These are themes too local to attract many readers beyond the borders of Germany, but the latest of Braubach's books commends itself to a wider audience, for (with the possible exception of Oehler's *Prinz Eugen im Urteil Europas*) it is the most substantial work about Prince Eugene of Savoy to have appeared in this century.

The book consists of a series of critical articles. They are, as the author is at some pains to emphasize in his introduction, the sort of pieces which appear in "purely scientific journals"; in every instance, manuscripts hitherto unnoticed provide the core for Braubach's essays. His great resource has been the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. No one before had systematically studied the documents there in order to comb out the material relating to Prince Eugene, his family, his personal associates and agents. The yield has been considerable, though not sensational, and since Braubach's diligence in the archives has been supplemented by his altogether exceptional mastery of the published materials, as well as by a talent for sober exposition, the result is a particularly fine example of historical craftsmanship. Four pieces stand out from the rest—an essay, monographic in length and definitive in character, on the family of Prince Eugene; superb studies of two fantastic adventurers of the period, Klement and Bonneval; and an account of Eugene's tragic last years. Of the lesser pieces, that on Count Venzati centers upon a memorandum on the Vienna court in 1706; that on the abbé Lenglet tells us something more than was known before about the literary and artistic circle around Eugene; and another on Eugene and Saint-Pierre adduces evidence indicating that Eugene's interest in the abbé's writings was something more than perfunctory.

In 1936, when Braubach published in the *Historische Zeitschrift* an article commemorating the two-hundredth anniversary of Eugene's death, the prince's claims to be regarded as a German national hero were placed in the forefront of the discussion, and emphatically approved. Braubach thus bowed to the fashion then in vogue of regarding Eugene's relation to *Volck* and *Reich* as the central problem of a twentieth-century biography. This aspect of things gets a

passing nod on page fifteen of the new volume, but nothing further is heard of Eugene's German mission. Whether or not Braubach still regards this mission as a matter of primary historical relevance he does not tell us, for his method in this volume has not been to set problems and to seek solutions but to look for new facts, and, having found them, to put them in their setting and let them speak for themselves. Such an approach is obviously no substitute for the full-scale biography which no one since Arneth, nearly a hundred years ago, has produced. What we get from Braubach is a glimpse, as intimate as the sources permit, at a miscellaneous collection of people-on-the-make who inhabited Eugene's private world. Seen in this human environment, the personality of Eugene, himself an adventurer with a genius for success, becomes both more understandable and more mysterious.

*Great Horwood, Bucks, England*

PAUL R. SWEET

DEUTSCHLAND UND ÜBERSEE: DER DEUTSCHE HANDEL MIT DEN ANDEREN KONTINENTEN, INSBESONDERE AFRIKA, VON KARL V. BIS ZU BISMARCK: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER RIVALITÄT IM WIRTSCHAFTSLEBEN. By *Percy Ernst Schramm*. (Brunswick, Germany: Georg Westermann Verlag. 1950. Pp. 639.)

SCHOLARS interested in commercial history and in the relations of Europe with Africa will find this book by Professor Schramm of both general and specific interest for the light it throws on areas of history where information has been scanty. In point of time the book covers the overseas commercial activities of Germans from the days of Charles V down to 1890; the emphasis and detail, however, are reserved for the five decades after 1830. For this careful study Professor Schramm has made extensive use of archive materials in the Hanseatic cities, whose merchants found themselves engaged in a world-wide commerce a century ago. Reports of representatives of these firms in distant lands have been used with great skill to give us a story that is both exciting and informing in what it has to say about the background of the trade and colonial rivalry that developed between England and Germany nearer the end of the century. The book is something of a memorial to the author's ancestors who participated in that trade.

The book makes one aware of the contrast between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in economic possibilities. Here one gets a picture of the significance to the world, particularly to Germans, of England's abandonment of mercantilist policies and her adoption of free trade. Here we see how the nineteenth century offered vast economic opportunities all over the world to Europeans engaged in the manufacture of goods to be exchanged for the foods and resources of nonindustrial lands. That the nineteenth century was a time of marvelous economic opportunity becomes clear as traders argue that Australia, Brazil, China, or Argentina is the coming land of the future, where Germans

can settle down, engage in trade, and make their fortunes. It was a golden age that fills us with nostalgia.

The author has excellent material on German commercial activities that eventually led to the adoption of a colonial policy by Bismarck. In the fifties and sixties there were numerous complaints that the lack of a strong Germany and navy made it hard for Germans to carry on a successful trade in lands where a show of power was necessary if traders were to command respect. The interest of German traders in a united Germany was apparently a real one. Frequent were the pleas that this or that area in some distant part of the world be placed under German protection. The charge was frequently made that there was much interference with legitimate German trade by British ships engaged in suppressing the slave trade along the west coast of Africa. Students of that trade will find information of the most interesting sort of firms and peoples engaged in the nefarious business.

Along with the story of German commerce, Professor Schramm gives a good deal of incidental information about the commercial activities of both French and British firms in Africa. There is history here for nearly all parts of Africa, not merely those areas where Germany under Bismarck eventually proclaimed the annexation of territory. The author is careful to avoid repeating what is already familiar to the student of German occupation in Africa; he is interested in giving what is new, and in this effort he has succeeded admirably. One gets a clear picture of the prominent Germans who laid the foundations of the African empire and of the reaction of the British Empire to that work. So significant a study is this work of German scholarship that one regrets having to point out that Disraeli did not acquire a majority of the shares in the Suez Canal Company by his coup of 1875.

*Yale University*

HARRY R. RUDIN

ONNO KLOPP: *LEBEN UND WIRKEN*. By *Wiard von Klopp*. Edited by *Franz Schnabel*. (Munich: Schnell & Steiner. 1950. Pp. xii, 271.)

In recent years German historians have tried to reappraise Bismarck and his policies. While Bismarck and the Prussian school of historiography have on the whole been defended, though with reservations, by prominent historians like Gerhard Ritter of Freiburg im Breisgau and Hans Rothfels of Chicago and Tübingen, the attack against the traditional Bismarck evaluation has emanated from two different camps. Erich Eyck, who published in exile his three-volume Bismarck biography, was the most representative spokesman for German liberalism. He did not question Bismarck's goal of a German *Nationalstaat* but his methods. A Germany built less on violation of constitution and victories in war would have fitted better into a nineteenth-century Europe of which Gladstone was the greatest spokesman; it would also have provided a more enduring basis



for German national life. Recently another group of German historians led by Franz Schnabel of Munich has gone farther. They reject not only Bismarck's methods which in the hands of less skilled successors developed far beyond anything Bismarck himself intended, but the whole concept of the *Nationalstaat*.

In a paper read by Professor Schnabel before the International Historical Congress in Speyer in October, 1949 (reprinted in *Europa und der Nationalismus* [Baden-Baden, 1950], pp. 91-108), he pointed out that the *kleindeutsche Nationalstaat* was hardly discussed in Germany in 1840. "The Bismarckian Reich as a self-contained national body under Prussian leadership had only a short development; it was a wholly unhistorical concept in German life. It had no grass roots. Even in the Prussian government before the appearance of Bismarck the Frederickian tradition had almost died out" (p. 105). It was Germany's and Europe's misfortune (*Verhängnis*) that at the time when all possibilities still seemed open, Bismarck's genius decided for the one which seemed least constructive for Germany and Europe. This criticism of Bismarck from the federalist and Catholic camp is, however, not the result of hindsight. In the fateful years between 1865 and 1870, Bismarck's concept was attacked, and its consequences clearly predicted, by men as different as Constantin Frantz, Gervinus, and Onno Klopp.

Of these men Onno Klopp is least known today. He was born in 1822, the son of an East-Frisian Protestant family and a subject of the king of Hanover, in whose service he spent most of his life. With his exiled king he moved in 1866 to Austria, there in 1872 joined the Catholic Church, and died thirty years later. The present biography was written by his son in a spirit of filial piety and edited posthumously by Professor Schnabel. Klopp was a very fertile writer. He edited the historical and political writings of Leibnitz from the manuscripts in the Hanoverian library in eleven volumes; he published a three-volume history of Ost-Friesland, a fourteen-volume history of western Europe from 1660 to 1714, focused upon the fall of the House of Stuart and the succession of the Hanoverians, and a four-volume history of the Thirty Years' War to the death of Gustavus Adolphus. Of greater importance for present-day readers are his works on Frederick II of Prussia, on Bismarck, and on the problem of German unification generally. In his political views he was strictly conservative, and he rejected not only Bismarck but liberalism; as a historian he was a moralist and regarded it his duty to present what is right (*das Recht in der Geschichte*) without regard for its success. Though he came from an environment which revered Luther and Frederick II, he was led by his studies to regard them as misfortunes for Germany. In his courageous and indefatigable struggle against Prussia and against the dominant trend, he wrote many pamphlets and newspaper articles. The present biography contains a complete bibliography of his works.

In August, 1865, he published an article, "Prussia's Future," in which he

wrote that Prussia was an absolutist military state by its origin and history and could not become anything else. "This Prussian monarchy can neither create nor allow true liberty nor can it represent the German interest, because by its origins and history it is irreconcilably opposed to both." He predicted that Prussia would bring unheard-of misery to Germany and Europe and regretted that the situation of 1850 was not used to end the Prussian "menace." Five years later he suggested a Franco-Austrian alliance against Prussia and Russia to stop the growth of the two latter powers, for both were out to destroy Austria as the only obstacle to their expansion. His years in Vienna brought him much disillusionment. He warned against the Dual Alliance, and he was deeply worried by the lack of Austrian patriotism and by the inability of the Austrian government to understand and promote an "Austrian idea." Like Georg Herwegh in 1871, Klopp was convinced that Germany's "*schlimmste Feind steht an der Spree*."

Today Prussia has disappeared. The monarchy and the landowning nobility which were its backbone have been destroyed. A return of Prussia seems today as romantic a dream with as little real foundation as Mussolini's re-creation of the imperium. But the words which Klopp wrote in his pamphlet "*Wer ist der Wahre Erbfeind Deutschlands?*" may not be without interest even today to the student of German nationalism: "Never have the ways of the German nation followed the path of a so-called unity. The idea of unity nowhere has a foundation in concrete reality. Neither the manifold landscape of Germany, its rivers and mountains which reach in all directions, nor the preponderance of a capital or the intellectual preponderance of one of its parts [*eines Stammes*] make any necessity for such a unity appear. . . . The peasant from the North Sea to the Alps was ignorant of the theory that the German nationality needs a national state [*einen Einheitsstaat*]. He was happy in his differentiation [*Besonderheit*]. He was satisfied with his government. Prussia brought him only increased taxes and military burdens."

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE FORTY-EIGHTERS: POLITICAL REFUGEES OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848. Edited by A. E. Zucker. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 379. \$4.50.)

It is refreshing to find in these eight papers (sponsored by the Carl Schurz Foundation and handsomely produced by the Columbia University Press) so little of the old emotional approach to a very attractive group of men—though it is not entirely absent. For instance, the traditional view of Carl Schurz as "a true German-American with a double loyalty but not a divided one" is restated by Dr. Bayard Q. Morgan (p. 249), whereas, surely, the main reason for the rapid and phenomenal success of Schurz *as an American* is that he so quickly stopped being a German-American and resolutely turned his back upon

all ideas of a "double loyalty." Mrs. Hildegard Binder Johnson, in her exceedingly interesting paper on "Adjustment to the United States" (pp. 43-78) does not share the view of the present reviewer that the situation in which many of the Forty-eighters found themselves after the Civil War (and in some cases earlier) was one of arrested development. She argues her case persuasively, but the biographies of some three hundred German Forty-eighters so conveniently summarized at the end of the book by the editor, Dr. Zucker, hardly bear out her contention. They had emigrated too late in life (though most of them had still been in their twenties) either completely to master the language or to accept the mores of the Americans. Carl Schurz was a striking exception to the general rule.

Apart from Dr. Hildegard Johnson's stimulating and scholarly contribution, the paper on "The Forty-eighters in Politics" (pp. 111-56) by Lawrence S. Thompson and Frank X. Braun, is the most impressive, though not quite so provocative. As might be expected from two such able and experienced bibliographers, their paper is specially valuable for its references. But, indeed, for all the papers the critical apparatus, included in an appendix (pp. 253-68), is exceptionally full and helpful. The paper on "The Turner" by Augustus J. Pahl, and those on "The Radicals" by Eitel W. Dobert and on "The Forty-eighters in the Civil War" by Ella Lonn are all of considerable interest in somewhat narrower fields, though the need to compress so much material into so little space inevitably forces these three contributors at times simply to catalogue names, events, and organizations. Dr. Lonn perhaps suffers most from this restriction, but her forthcoming book, of which her paper gives a foretaste, will be able to give her very large subject the space it deserves. It is to be hoped (and this will be all the more fitting because her book is to be published by a southern university press) that she will therein devote at least a little attention to those German immigrants and those (admittedly few) Forty-eighters who espoused the Southern cause and fought in the Confederate armies. She ignores them completely in her paper.

In the opinion of this reviewer the two introductory papers ("The European Background" by Carl J. Friedrich and "The American Scene" by Oscar Handlin) might well have been omitted. Neither tells us anything that could not have been found in any good college textbook. One feels somewhat sorry for Drs. Friedrich and Handlin that their two rather slight (but very readable) little essays were put in the forefront of such a solid and impressive collection of research papers as are at least five of the other six contributions. This is the one serious criticism that can be leveled at the otherwise excellent editing of a noteworthy volume.

*University of Birmingham, England*

JOHN A. HAWGOOD

SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY. Volume I, 1917-1924. Selected and edited by *Jane Degras*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. xxi, 501. \$7.00.)

THIS initial volume of selected Soviet documents on foreign policy from 1917 to 1941 is issued under the auspices of an organization which "is precluded by the terms of its Royal Charter from expressing an opinion on any aspect of international affairs." It consists of 263 items, ranging from treaties (excluding those, such as Riga and Rapallo, registered with the League of Nations) to newspaper interviews (some originally printed in the English press), fairly evenly distributed over the period from November 8, 1917, to January 4, 1925, but with particular emphasis on the year 1918. The arrangement is strictly chronological, and the material is presented without any comment or explanation beyond indication of the source. The translations from Russian, though sometimes quite free, are excellent.

The work is not intended as an interpretation of Soviet policy, save in so far as any principle of selection involves some interpretation. It therefore can serve the purposes only of students of international relations who, though unable to read the Russian originals, are familiar with the general setting. Those who are content with a surface "knowledge and understanding of Soviet foreign policy" may indeed find here "a sufficient number of documents to indicate its main preoccupations and to illustrate its aims and diplomatic techniques." Those who wish to probe more deeply must look farther afield. As a random example, it may be suggested that the excerpts (pp. 78-79) from Lenin's speech of May 14, 1918, on foreign relations (based on a press report) fall far short of the flavor given by the much more extended excerpts (based on the official stenographic record) given by Bunyan in *Intervention, Civil War and Communism in Russia*; nor is there here any suggestion of the sharp attacks made on Lenin within the Soviet Central Executive Committee. It is material of this kind that sets Soviet policy in its true perspective. One may therefore regret that such documents have been generally deliberately omitted in order to save space for the eternal procession of diplomatic notes and propaganda releases. Even in these latter categories the principle of selection is not always clear. Thus, the initial protest of April 22, against German penetration of the Crimea, is reproduced, but the more sweeping protest of April 27, calling the whole Treaty of Brest-Litovsk into question, is excluded; the only document given under that date is Chicherin's demand for the recall of the French ambassador.

However, it is not possible to give complete coverage. This volume, and its two successors, will probably prove to be extremely valuable reference aids for many.

*Brooklyn College*

JESSE D. CLARKSON

THE SOVIET UNION: BACKGROUND, IDEOLOGY, REALITY. A SYMPOSIUM. Edited by *Waldemar Gurian*. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 216. \$3.50.)

"WHILE with reference to physics and techniques the world is already in the atomic age, in research on the Soviet economy [or polity, or culture] it is in the Adam-and-Eve era." With these words one of the contributors to the present volume suggests the magnitude of the task to which a group of Soviet experts under the initiative of Waldemar Gurian addressed themselves in February, 1950, at a University of Notre Dame symposium.

Specifically in the field of economics, Naum Jasny, the contributor referred to, rejects Soviet claims of increase in industrial output from 22 billion rubles in 1928 to 163 billions in 1948 as "a pack of lies." Soviet production data in physical terms he still in the main accepts, but data in monetary terms he regards as having been manipulated on a vast and increasing scale. Cutting through this subterfuge he estimates industrial output as having risen, in terms of "real 1926-27 prices," only to 70 billion rubles in 1948, thereby reducing the proportions of the Soviet industrial revolution by more than half. Moreover his warning against taking any one ruble as equal to another ruble has an added significance in that during the period from 1928 to 1948 the inflation of consumer goods prices was more than eight times that of producer goods prices. This means that Soviet budgetary statements with their generous outlays for "social and cultural" funds (a consumer goods item) are distorted beyond comparison while military expenditures (a producer goods item) are conveniently played down. Jasny's own figures suggest a breakdown of the total Soviet national income for 1948 somewhat as follows: 38 per cent new investment, 24 per cent military expenditures, 33 per cent private consumption, 5 per cent miscellaneous. According to government sources, the comparable figures for the United States were: 14 per cent investment, 6 per cent military, 80 per cent consumption. The difference between the private consumption figures of the two systems goes far to explain the difference between a dictatorship and a democracy.

With two thirds of the Russian national income being absorbed by the government, it is understandable that the Soviet leaders might want to extend their "system" to neighboring countries. Stephen Kertesz in an able article has outlined the methods whereby Soviet control was extended over eastern Europe in the postwar period. Here is indicated the double strategy of a seizure of key positions from above (e.g., the ministry of interior) and manipulation of mass pressures from below (e.g., the staged demonstration). Here is explained the Communist meaning of the word "freedom" as a sort of unilateral "freedom for us." Here is shown the danger of a coalition type of spoils system which includes Communists and which thereby opens the civil service to men having allegiance primarily to the Communist party itself. As Laszlo Rajk, at that time a minister of interior himself though later to be liquidated as a Titoist,

is alleged to have said: "Learn from Lenin; if you have five enemies, you should ally yourself with them; arrange to incite four of them against the fifth, then three against the fourth, and so on until you have only one enemy left in the alliance; you can then liquidate him yourself."

In view of the expansive and totalitarian nature of the Communist system it is well also to consider the solitary example of a non-Communist institution retaining a foothold in the heart of the Soviet empire itself. This institution is, of course, the church, and in particular the Russian Orthodox Church. Nicholas Timasheff, in a chapter which brings up to date his standard work on the subject, explains the uneasy consequences of the morganatic alliance entered into between the General Secretary Joseph and the Acting Patriarch Sergius in September, 1943. The marriage was morganatic because Stalin retains all the power and the church is merely permitted rights of cohabitation within the empire. It is an uneasy alliance because both parties have compromised themselves: the church by making peace with atheistic rule, and the party-state by condoning a major breach in its monolithic pattern. Behind the facade a private cold war is in progress as each partner yearns, on Stalin's side not always secretly, for a state of single blessedness.

The three articles here described comprise three fifths of the book under review. In the remaining two fifths, five shorter articles round out this particularly stimulating symposium as follows: "Church and State in Central Europe" by Francis Dvornik, "Soviet Exploitation of National Conflicts in Eastern Europe" by Philip E. Mosely, "Historical Background of Soviet Thought Control" by Michael Karpovich, "Aims and Methods of Soviet Terrorism" by Vladimir Petrov, and "Development of the Soviet Regime from Lenin to Stalin" by Waldemar Gurian.

*George Washington University*

RONALD THOMPSON

## Far Eastern History

THE ANCIENT KHMER EMPIRE. by *Lawrence Palmer Briggs*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XLI, Part I.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1951. Pp. 295. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$5.00.)

WE are indebted to Mr. Briggs for his vast and careful labors in bringing together and completing this volume on the early history of the Khmer Empire. The results form an erudite volume of great merit. The author has gone painstakingly through the voluminous materials on the Khmers produced in the past several decades. From the background of his own scholarship he has produced what may well be considered the definitive work on the first three periods of Khmer history, the Funan, Chenla, and Khambuja epochs.

Prior to the publication of this volume there has been no single work of un-



questioned scholarship which attempted a similar detailed study of ancient Khmer history. This was partly due to the fact that no one had undertaken the task of collating and interpreting the vast amount of heterogeneous data available. Briggs brings together the latest scholarship enriched by careful analysis and interpretation.

The present volume is of great worth because of its careful survey of art and architecture, political history, dynastic change, epigraphy, religious influences, and, where possible, social and economic conditions. The final section, on the nature, significance, and causes of the fall of Angkor, seems particularly valuable for its thoughtful analysis. The light shed on the "mystery" of the smiling Buddhas of Angkor is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the Khmers.

In a society such as that of the Khmers, characterized by a highly institutionalized theocracy and epitomized in resplendent architecture and decoration, a purely political history would be most inadequate if not, indeed, impossible. Mr. Briggs has woven the fabric of Khmer history from its most significant exemplification, its monumental religious art. His translation of the record is clear, competent, and informed.

The volume is enhanced by many excellent figures, exhibiting the best of the art and architecture of Angkor as well as by numerous maps and plans. The American Philosophical Society has made scholars its debtors by publishing this work in such an adequate format.

*University of Chicago*

ROBERT I. CRANE

FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE, AND OTHER  
CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO (PUBLIC SERIES).

Volume V, 1767-1769. Edited by *Narendra Krishna Sinha*, Lecturer in History, University of Calcutta. [Indian Records Series.] (New Delhi: National Archives of India. 1949. Pp. xiv, 670.)

This volume is the first to appear in a proposed series of twenty-one volumes covering the period 1748-1800 under the general editorship of Dr. S. N. Sen. It has been ably edited with an introduction and notes by Dr. N. K. Sinha. The book deals with Verelst's governorship after Clive's departure from Bengal, and the letters may best be read in conjunction with *Verelst's Rule in India* by Nandalal Chatterjee (Allahabad, 1939). Publication of the public letters "out" and "home" in the same volume reveals very well the striking dichotomy between expectations in England and facts in Bengal. On the one hand, the directors in England were trying to satisfy the public expectation that the acquisition of the Diwani would enable them to conduct a flourishing East India trade without exporting bullion to either India or China. On the other, the directors' servants in Bengal, trying to meet their ever-mounting military and administrative expenditure from a region already severely drained of its specie, were vainly trying

to convince their "honourable masters" of their difficulties in supplying the expected "investment" of Indian goods and of their inability to send silver to China.

Many aspects of this paradoxical situation are revealed in these letters. In India, we see the Bengal Council struggling to send the necessary subsidies, not only to Madras where much military activity is taking place but to Bombay also where the company's debts are steadily mounting. An example of the way military necessities forced the suspension of supplies to China is found in the letter from court of November 11, 1768, "We remark with very great surprise your desiring the Presidency of Madras to appropriate three lacks of the money destined for the supply to China for the use of the military operations on the Coast." There are several illustrations of the struggle to avoid further involvement with the country-powers. On this point, it may be said that, in Verelst's masterly letter analyzing Indian politics in March, 1768, there is no hint of the necessity of future conquest. The emphasis remains on maintaining "our present character as Umpires of Hindostan by counteracting any hostile designs against ourselves or our Allies by our Influence at a distance, by our force when near." This letter is also noteworthy for the attention it gives to the Sikhs. The ever-widening sphere of the company's interest is also evidenced by their orders, likewise in March, 1768, to "obtain the best intelligence you can whether a Trade can be opened with Nepaul and whether Cloth and other European Commodities may not find their way from thence to Thibet, Lassa, and the Western parts of China." In London, we see the directors struggling vainly to keep their political affairs separate from their commerce, worrying constantly that they will not have the resources to pay bills of exchange drawn in India, yet complaining when their servants buy foreign bills of exchange after being forbidden to take up their own. The letters "out" are of course full of the admonitions against corruptions, so lightly regarded; full of evidence of the breach of many of the company's regulations, and very expressive of the directors' awareness that much of the company's book-keeping abroad was of so "fictitious" a character as to make it very difficult for London to know precisely what the company's financial position was at many of its settlements.

While there is much to be said for printing documents of this kind *in extenso* without omitting a word lest it be of value to some student of the period, there is unquestionably much verbiage which could be safely omitted, and nothing would be lost if many paragraphs of a purely routine character were briefly summarized. Writers of eighteenth-century documents were especially prolix (witness the incredibly involved jargon of Lord Clive's *Jagir*, pp. 116-20). Judicious pruning would reduce printing costs and facilitate further publication. The early appearance of companion volumes will do much to place these public letters in proper perspective. Contemporaries concerned with East India affairs thought in terms of "trading seasons," not of calendar years. Readers will there-

fore gain a better impression of how the East India Company's multifarious affairs were conducted in this period when several of these volumes have been issued. The wider studies of eighteenth-century India which are so much needed will be facilitated by more extensive publication of the materials of this sort available in the Indian National Archives.

*University of Pennsylvania*

HOLDEN FURBER

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1934. In five volumes. Volume III, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 4011.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. lxxxvi, 868. \$3.25.)

Most studies of the foreign policy of the United States treat very lightly of the years between 1931 and 1937. This is understandable enough when one remembers that the era between Japan's Manchurian "adventure" and the skirmish at the Marco Polo Bridge was rather devoid of spectacular events. Yet it was during that very era that decisions were made and policies formulated which led directly to the Lukuchiao affair. This was a crucial period in world history.

Volume III of the State Department's latest publication of diplomatic papers concerns one of these "unspectacular" years; 1934 was a year during which the United States made no startling diplomatic moves. There were no pronouncements such as the Open Door notes or the Stimson doctrine. But while the State Department made few headlines, the policy that it adopted, or was forced to adopt, had a direct bearing upon the series of events which led us eventually to World War II.

Here, in 600-odd documents, the State Department has revealed much of the evidence upon which it based its decisions. Along with an earlier two-volume publication (*Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan, 1931-1941*) these papers will provide the scholar with invaluable research material and the interested layman with an opportunity to see behind the curtain of official press releases and journalistic conjectures of the time.

The evidence presented deals largely with Japan and the effect of Japanese policies upon our relations with China. In one of the very first documents, Ambassador Grew touches upon the key to the whole Asiatic situation. Reporting in January a conversation with the Japanese vice minister of foreign affairs, Grew noted that "... the Vice Minister's remarks, while containing much that is controversial, are interesting principally as indicating the point of view of at least one person in a responsible position in the government here—that Japan has the responsibility for the peace and order of the Far East. This point of view is widely held in Japan, and with it goes a corollary—that Japan is to be consulted on any question affecting China which is of more than local importance"

(p. 3). The famous Amai statement of April 17, which was essentially a paraphrase of instructions sent to Japanese diplomatic officials in China, served to emphasize the point of view reported by Grew. It is in the light of these Japanese assertions—that they and they alone should have the dominant role in all East Asia—that the papers under discussion must be read.

In general, United States policy was one of conciliation, a policy which the Japanese interpreted as a sign of weakness. In December, for instance, Under Secretary of State Phillips recommended to President Roosevelt that the Navy maneuvers planned for the Pacific in 1935 “be moved to the other side of the canal or confined closer to our coast.” He added that he thought “this would be a fine gesture to make” (p. 344). The President refused to alter the Navy’s plans but did agree that Grew, in Japan, should be informed that the maneuvers were to be purely defensive in nature (p. 344).

United States willingness to conciliate Japan was also reflected in its attitude toward China. One strongly suspects that the State Department’s disinclination to approve a government loan to the Chinese government was a result of repeated Japanese assertions that it (Japan) was opposed to the granting by foreign governments to China of “political loans” (pp. 371 ff.).

Coincident with the cautious policy of the United States, Japan found Russian resistance to her aggressive designs increasing. During the early months of 1934, many observers of the Far Eastern scene were convinced that war between Russia and Japan was imminent. Grew himself felt in February that war was not unlikely, though he believed that the struggle would probably not begin until 1935. By the end of the year, however, he had been forced to revise his estimate of the situation. Noting that while United States policy had failed to modify Japan’s course of action, the ambassador reported that Japan “has already modified her policy toward the one nation which has assiduously devoted itself to building up its defenses in the Orient and to making clear its readiness to employ them if need arises. Soviet Russia has forced the Japanese Army to relegate all ideas of seizing Vladivostok and the Maritime Province to the uncertain future although at one time such action seemed imminent. Soviet Russia has avoided the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway and is receiving a fair price for it. . . . As I have already reported, my Soviet colleague not long ago repeated to me the remark of a prominent Japanese that the greatest single factor in obviating war between the U.S.S.R. and Japan was the marked increase of Soviet military strength in the Far East” (p. 689).

Herein, perhaps, lies the lesson of the 1930’s. Japan was convinced that Russia would resist with force, if necessary, further Japanese attempts to expand to the north. Japan was similarly convinced that the United States would not, or could not, resist with force Japanese expansion in other directions. Had the United States maintained its armed strength in the western Pacific during this crucial year, had the United States embarked upon a program of building up a definitely

superior navy, as Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck recommended in May (pp. 189-93), it is not inconceivable that the course of subsequent events would have been profoundly altered. As it was, Japan, checked in the north, began to concentrate more and more upon plans for a drive to the east and to the south, where she was to fill a vacuum created by the refusal of the United States to exert its strength in those areas.

The dispatches to and from our representatives in China reflect, of course, our concern with Japan. Few, if any, major policy decisions were made concerning China without considering the effects of such policy upon our relations with Japan. Treaty revision, the effect of the United States silver purchase program upon China's economy, loans to China—none of these problems was considered solely upon its own merits. The question of financial aid to China, as noted above, is a case in point. In May, 1934, the State Department urgently requested its people in China to make no mention to Chinese officials of a possible United States loan because such action would traverse "delicate political ground" (p. 437).

As for the political health of China, it is of interest to note that the question of the ability of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang to establish effective control over China was a concern of our foreign service officers long before the present controversy over the China policy of the United States developed. Writing in May, 1934, Minister to China Johnson reported that although "there were developments indicating a growing understanding on the part of some of the country's leaders of its needs . . . until there is evidence that these leaders intend effectively to implement this understanding with action, there will be little reason to view the present situation in China with other than pessimism" (p. 218). Johnson added significantly: "Little relief was extended [during 1934] to the masses of China suffering from excessive taxation, the cupidity and dishonesty of military and civilian officials, the exploitation of the people as a market for opium, and continued neglect of measures to overcome such natural disadvantages as flood, aridity, and difficult communication. Until such fundamental ills are remedied, the loyalty of the people to the governing classes, approval of their activities, and the removal of the danger of subversive movements cannot be anticipated" (p. 219).

Concerning other internal Chinese events, the dispatches of Minister Johnson and his subordinates cover relatively familiar ground.

*University of Maine*

JOHN J. NOLDE

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. By *Edwin O. Reischauer*. [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 357. \$4.00.)

THIS book is historical writing at its best. It increases in value as spectacular

contemporary events call for a greater understanding of historical background. With regard to Japan, Mr. Reischauer's is the voice of experience. He considers the problems of our neighbor Japan as also our problems, and he loses no time in establishing the underlying economic aspects of those problems.

He devotes one hundred pages to an understandable analysis of Japanese character and he removes the veil from what lazier minds choose to call the mystery of the Orient. What seem to be absurd contradictions in Japanese character are "contradictory to us only because we do not understand the substratum of forces within Japanese culture which has produced the particular surface patterns which we see in Japanese behavior" (p. 116).

Mr. Reischauer points out that "the nationalistic awakening, industrialization, the spread of education, the revolutionary concept that the common man should participate in and perhaps even control government, all hit Japan before the rest of Asia" (p. 180). He asserts, "The struggle between democracy and totalitarianism was not merely a passing phase of pre-war Japanese history" (p. 203) and that struggle has continued under the occupation. Our objectives are "to readjust the balance so that in the future the peaceful and democratic forces within Japanese society will gradually win out over the militaristic and authoritarian forces" (p. 287). He thinks that our efforts at reform in Japan make "Communist theories seem old-fashioned and unimaginative by comparison" (p. 270), and he insists that we dare not fail in our experiment, which all the world is watching.

Even before the outbreak of the war in Korea and the dismissal of MacArthur, Mr. Reischauer believed "the occupation authorities have virtually completed the task they set out to accomplish. . . . In any case we have already long since run into a situation of diminishing returns" (pp. 303, 304). He gives credit to the American authorities in Japan for a job well done, but he recognizes that the ultimate success of American reforms will have to depend upon eventual implementation by the Japanese themselves.

The author gives us some grave warnings and some sound advice. "No matter how devoted a military ally Japan might be, if we were to sacrifice democracy in Japan and the friendship of the rest of Asia to make her this, we would have made a sorry bargain indeed" (p. 44). Again, "If the Japanese cannot solve their economic problems as a peaceful people ideologically aligned with the democratic peoples of the world, they will undoubtedly seek to solve them by other means—perhaps by aligning themselves with Communist nations . . ." (p. 303).

Mr. Reischauer wants a peace treaty but not at the expense of our reform efforts. He thinks that "the best and most feasible move, therefore, would be to bring a complete end to occupation controls and to restore Japan to a status of real independence, limited only by the rules of international law and the universal principles of mankind as expressed through the United Nations and enforced by the community of nations" (p. 308).



His wise conclusion is: "The eventual fate of Japan is, after all, that of the world as a whole. Japan is of concern to us only as an element in a world order. In working for a peaceful and democratic Japan, we have been contributing to the creation of a peaceful and democratic world" (p. 317).

*Stanford University*

CLAUDE A. BUSS

## American History

THE LAWS OF ILLINOIS TERRITORY, 1809-1818. Edited with Introduction by *Francis S. Philbrick*, Emeritus Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume XXV. Law Series, Volume V.] (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library. 1950. Pp. cccclxxvii, 386. \$2.50.)

THIS volume is more important for the introduction than the laws it contains. The introduction is an account of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787: its purpose, its functioning in the territories before legislatures were established, its use by politicians and judges in the political battles before the Civil War, and its interpretation by historians. What Professor Philbrick has to say will shock those who repeat without reference to the facts the idea that the ordinance was a great progressive document, one of those which made the nation great. It was "miserably drafted. As an instrument to serve as the basis of territorial administration there was no greatness in it." Jefferson's ordinance of 1784 was "a complete and workable plan for the government of a specific territory . . . it was, *by implication*, something more; namely an enunciation of general principles of government which were judged proper to control the administration of all federal territory." The principles of Jefferson's ordinance were "wholly consonant with the principles for which the Revolution had been fought." The ordinance of 1787, on the other hand, "established a governmental system unknown in any of the original states, irreconcilable with the principles of Anglo-American political doctrine, particularly repugnant to those of our Revolutionary era then just ending."

Professor Philbrick is no respecter of historians who have written about the Northwest Ordinance, no matter what their reputation among their own kind. He points out that most of the historians have stated the provisions of the ordinance "as though no question of their merits could be involved." He puts the real issue squarely: "A knowledge of actual territorial government—of the acts, development, and interrelations of executive, legislative, and judicial departments—is requisite for a dependable appraisal of the Ordinance as a working plan of government." By citing chapter and verse, he proves that most historians do not have such knowledge.

This reviewer agrees with most of the points made in the introduction. It is not easy reading. The style is legalistic and at times prolix and repetitious to the

point where the reader is in despair. But the stuff is there and it should be read by those who have occasion to lecture and write about the ordinance of 1787.

University of Wisconsin

MERRILL JENSEN

ARIZONA: THE HISTORY OF A FRONTIER STATE. By *Rufus Kay Wyllys*. (Phoenix, Ariz.: Hobson and Herr. 1950. Pp. xiii, 408. \$6.00.)

To the average American, Arizona is a vast sun-drenched land, bounded on the north by the Grand Canyon and on the south by Mexico, on the east by the blanket-weaving and silver-working Indians and on the west by the more corpulent natives who greet the trains at Yuma and Needles and by the California inspection stations. It is a great place for tourists, as the color photography in *Arizona Highways* so emphatically reminds; it is a mecca for health seekers and winter refugees; and its popularized history echoes with endless Apache wars and with bursts of gunfire by the badmen of Tombstone.

Although it is the youngest of the forty-eight states, Arizona has a history that goes back more than four hundred years. Furthermore, through archaeology, tree-ring dating, and the perpetuation of much of the Indian stock, its prehistory has a greater verisimilitude than in most other parts of the United States. Its history, however, has long intermissions—for a century and a half after Coronado, and for almost as long after Kino—with the result that practically all that counts is crowded into the last hundred years.

For almost a quarter of that period R. K. Wyllys has been mining this sector of southwestern history, first with a study of filibustering into Sonora, which until 1853 came all the way up to the Gila; then with a life of Kino; and since 1932 through a program of teaching and research encompassing Arizona history in its entirety. The literature on Arizona is large. The Munk collection in 1914 ran into the thousands of titles. H. H. Bancroft dealt at length with the first American decades, the region was not by-passed in the era of mug-books, and the pioneer days found a faithful recorder in Frank C. Lockwood, professor of English. Wyllys, however, is the first professional historian to undertake the subject. High time it is.

The book he has written has as general pattern an introductory look at the land, its first inhabitants, its Spanish discoverers and missionaries, and the adventurous visitors who began to come early in the nineteenth century. Then in more commodious detail he tells of the Mexican War and the Gadsden Purchase, the influx of American settlers, prospectors, cattlemen, and tradesmen; the impact of the Civil War, the launching of the territory, and the problems of Indian relations, land policies, irrigation, and transportation. Two chapters are reserved for the period as a state. The bulk of the book is on the epoch from American acquisition to statehood, though several chapters are topical and range from the territorial days to the present.

In any book such as this it is easy to pick episodes and topics that might have had more extended treatment. The specific examples that come to mind here have to do with the nature and shaping of modern Arizona; they corroborate the impression of the table of contents that Wyllys has done better justice to the good old days than to the recent history. Other shortcomings are an index that neglects the topical and a bibliography without evaluations. The excellences far outweigh the defects. One lies in a concise, even-gaited style. Another is an adequate knowledge of the myriad elements that have gone into Arizona's history, an awareness of the larger contexts into which it fits, and an appreciation of its factors—geographical, economic, and, most of all, human. The appurtenances also enhance the book, particularly the series of expressive maps drawn especially for the purpose.

*Los Angeles, California*

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY

WILLIAM JOHNSON'S NATCHEZ: THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO. Edited by *William Ransom Hogan* and *Edwin Adams Davis*. [Source Studies in Southern History, No. 1.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 812. \$10.00.)

THE appearance of this volume is significant for two reasons. In the first place, it inaugurates the "Source Studies in Southern History" under the general editorship of Professor Edwin Adams Davis of Louisiana State University. There can be little doubt that the written history of the South will be greatly enriched by this series, if the standards set in the first volume are to be followed in subsequent publications. In the second place, it is the diary of a member of a group, the free Negro of the ante-bellum South, that was generally inarticulate. The history of the group has been, for the most part, reconstructed from opinions and reactions of the usually hostile white community. William Johnson can hardly be regarded as representative of the free Negro, however. He was a prosperous barber, planter, slaveholder, and confidant and creditor of many of his white neighbors, while most of his free Negro contemporaries were in wretched circumstances and were the objects of the most profound contempt of the white community.

For more than fifteen years William Johnson kept a detailed diary, recording his business and recreational activities, his relationships with his family and friends, and his reactions to innumerable events in which he was a participant or an observer. About his relations with his family, for example, he apparently tells everything, including his numerous difficulties with his mother. In his civic activities and in his love of drink, food, and sports, he reveals a zest for living that suggests some considerable accommodation for one of his status. His qualities as an acute observer and his singular vantage point as the owner of a barber-shop, bath house, and rental property in the business section of Natchez made it

possible for him to know much of what went on in the white world; and he recorded these events faithfully. Weddings, births, deaths, horse races, gambling, fights, politics, military activities, and scandals were merely some of the events that caught the watchful eye of this mulatto Pepys. Throughout one can see the struggle of this free Negro for complete acceptability. There were times when he almost achieved it. At other times, he was bluntly or subtly reminded that he was a member of a despised group. His death at the hands of an ambushed enemy in 1851 was mourned by the entire community.

Professor Davis and Professor William Ransom Hogan of Tulane University have given this diary the careful editing that it deserves. The extensive introduction places the diarist in his proper setting, carefully describes his life from the earliest possible time to his death, and discusses the quality and reliability of the diary itself. The editors have spared no pains to illuminate the diary with copious but unobtrusive notes; and they have selected apt illustrations from the manuscript of the diary and from Johnson's account books to show the diarist at work. The excellent index completes an editorial feat that is as unusual as the subject matter of the volume. The history of Natchez and of the South has been considerably illuminated by this significant volume.

*Howard University*

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

JOHN BELL OF TENNESSEE. By *Joseph Howard Parks*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 435. \$5.00.)

For some thirty years John Bell was an important political figure in Tennessee and in the nation. During the greater part of this time he served as a member of the United States House of Representatives, for one session its Speaker, or as a member of the United States Senate. He was at first a supporter of Andrew Jackson, but he later took an important part in the revolt against Jackson that established the Whig party as the dominant party in Tennessee for many years. He served briefly as Secretary of War in 1841. A conservative and wealthy slaveowner, he opposed aggressive proslavery activities in the fifties; he was the presidential candidate of the Constitutional Union party in 1860, most strongly supported in the states of the upper South; and he opposed disunion until after war had begun in 1861. A good biography of Bell has long been needed, and Professor Parks has met this need. The reviewer regrets, however, that the book is so largely a narration of Bell's participation in the political warfare of his day and that there is in it so little information about Bell's other interests, his investments in coal mining and iron manufacturing, for example; but he recognizes that little information about these interests appears to be available. The reviewer believes that John Bell would have considered it a serious error to state, as Professor Parks does, that the people of Tennessee ratified an

"ordinance of secession" (p. 404). What was submitted to and approved by the Tennessee voters was a declaration of independence from the United States. Bell and many of his followers denied that there was a constitutional right of secession, but they recognized the right of revolution and appealed to it in justification of their opposition to Lincoln's use of armed force.

Professor Parks is to be especially commended for his diligence in searching for materials, published and unpublished, that throw light on Bell's career. These are usefully described in a "Critical Essay on Authorities." Unfortunately, no considerable body of papers kept by Bell, his "personal archives" in the form of letters received, copies of letters sent, and other materials documenting his activities, is known to exist. But fairly numerous letters from him and letters about him have been found among the papers, in widely scattered depositories, of a number of his contemporaries. It is with considerable surprise that the reviewer finds in this volume no indication that materials in the National Archives pertaining to John Bell were used. No biography of any important official of the federal government of the United States should be written without resort to the official records of the government that are in the National Archives.

Washington, D.C.

PHILIP M. HAMER

MR. LINCOLN'S ARMY. By *Bruce Catton*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1951. Pp. vi, 372. \$3.75.)

THE author, a Washington newspaperman, devotes his second book to what he terms "Mr. Lincoln's Army," in the bitter fighting of the campaigns leading to the battle of Second Bull Run in the summer of 1862, and General Lee's rebuff of George Brinton McClellan's well-equipped command.

This reviewer wonders a bit concerning the pertinence of the title Mr. Catton gave it. When gathering background for my own book on that titanic struggle, still the greatest experience the American nation has ever known, which I entitled *Conflict: The American Civil War*, I came to the conclusion that "Little Mac" was held in such esteem by his men that it was not "Mr. Lincoln's Army" but McClellan's own, in fact while he commanded the Army of the Potomac, and in loyalty to him for countless years after Lee's surrender.

The men of the Army of the Potomac, the principal federal force in the chief theater of combat in the East, adored their commanding general, fought his battles with ardor and sacrifice, and loved McClellan quite as much as "Uncle Billy" Sherman's rustlers of provender ever did.

Thus it seems to this reviewer that, in the hot summer of 1862, it was in fact General McClellan's army rather than that of the President as commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States when in active service. That general's first job was as drill-master, and he organized and inspected well. He had the advantage of being sent by the War Department to Europe a few

years before the outbreak of the Civil War, his mission being to report on the arts of war on that continent, and to get to the Crimean War if he could, as an observer. Little Mac brought back with him sheaves of notes, and the model of the McClellan saddle, which just last year was discarded, inasmuch as cavalry is no longer a branch of the Army of the United States.

The defects of Little Mac's qualities often frustrated his battle plans. As Mr. Catton emphasizes, the commander was generally good on logistics, and usually placed his cavalry, infantry, artillery, and wagon trains where they could be put in service whenever need arose. He was a stickler for his men being "found"—that is to say, provided by the Army with adequate clothing, boots, chow, and other necessities of the fighting forces, to the last gaiter button.

Soon there came a veritable gift of Mars to aid McClellan's hopes for a major victory. Corporal Barton W. Mitchell, of the 27th Indiana Infantry, found three unsmoked cigars on camp grounds Lee's army had occupied the previous night. This slip in security precautions on the Confederate commander's part thus made it possible for McClellan to organize a crushing blow against Lee's main army! But the big question was whether the general would ever make efficient use of his now well-trained troops. If he did, the Confederates had better retreat quickly, or be disastrously defeated.

President Lincoln visited the Bull Run region, to feel the pulse of the privates, noncoms and shave-tails. He found things not much to his liking: there was too much "fuss and feathers," too many parades, not enough vigor on Little Mac's part. Mr. Lincoln also found that no use of any sort had been made of the secret Confederate papers the soldier had found wrapped around the three cigars! McClellan needn't have muffed the ball when information direct from Lee's headquarters was available. Here was opportunity for the federal general to defeat in detail the Confederate columns. What a hideous waste that was of the luckiest break McClellan's command ever got.

A master of psychology, Lincoln learned on his visit to the camp that Little Mac "has the slows." In other words, he faltered and delayed when opportunity was at hand, marching and countermarching to the exhaustion of his men and the delight of the Johnny Rebs. The President returned to the White House a sorely disappointed man. Now he knew that Little Mac had neither the will nor the military know-how to win the war in the East. Within a fortnight, the President removed McClellan from command of the Army of the Potomac, and retired him to a desk job.

Politicians like Old Thad Stevens applauded the discharge of a Democratic general; Lincoln didn't like to get rid of one, for he knew full well that hundreds of thousands of Democrats in the North had enlisted in Mr. Lincoln's Army. If McClellan hadn't muffed his chance because of his insatiate delaying, he might have achieved the political offices he sought so often after the war.

But the sequel was what McClellan should have expected: the military ap-



proach having failed, the President shifted to political devices. On July 4, 1862, he announced his intention to free the slaves the first of January, 1863, unless the Confederacy folded.

Had Little Mac been successful as well as ambitious for fame and power, he might have achieved election as President of the United States. But he didn't have what it took to make Mr. Lincoln's Army succeed. Mr. Catton's volume is interesting in itself, and even more so in its implications. It deserves wide reading.

*Arlington, Virginia*

GEORGE FORT MILTON

THE ARMY OF THE PACIFIC: ITS OPERATIONS IN CALIFORNIA, TEXAS, ARIZONA, NEW MEXICO, UTAH, NEVADA, OREGON, WASHINGTON, PLAINS REGION, MEXICO, ETC., 1860-1866. By *Aurora Hunt*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1951. Pp. 455. \$10.00.)

OCCASIONALLY a reviewer feels that he could give a book a more accurate, if not a more attractive, title than it already has. In the case of Miss Aurora Hunt's book a suggestion would be "Military and naval history of the Civil War period in the West and of Californians in the Civil War." The point is that this rambling, interesting, and useful book covers more than its title indicates. It includes discussions of the military reaction of the Pacific Coast to the outbreak of the Civil War; the raising of volunteer troops in California; camps, cantonments, and training in California; the use of California volunteers in connection with Indian fighting, garrisoning, and patrolling of routes of communication normally carried out by Regulars; the Confederate invasion of New Mexico and Arizona and its repulse by California and Colorado troops; Indian warfare throughout the West during the Civil War insofar as California troops participated therein; medical service with the California troops; the campaigns of California volunteers accepted as part of Massachusetts cavalry units and therefore permitted to participate in fighting in Virginia; the Pacific Squadron; the collection of funds in the West for the Sanitary Commission; the problem of civilian disloyalty to the Union in sections of California; and finally demobilization. Following the text proper, the book contains a nineteen-page bibliography, seventeen plates reproducing a number of hitherto unpublished photographs and drawings, and a reference map of the region discussed.

Miss Hunt has based her study mainly on the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, contemporary California newspapers, and some personal manuscript materials. The bibliography lists a good many sources whose use is not reflected in the footnotes.

The many topics comprehended in the book are covered with differing levels of detail. Some of the subjects introduced seem to be well worth further study.

In other instances, the writer has been led afield by minor details and the text is cluttered in places with genealogical and sentimental information which would be better placed in footnotes if included at all. At times the effort to dramatize events and operations which were at best routine and which certainly did not contribute directly to the outcome of the Civil War is annoying. Military forces in the region west of the Rockies mainly carried on the same functions in the same way that they did before 1861 and after 1866. The only difference was that California volunteers replaced Regulars. From the viewpoint of the professional military historian, the book lacks technical detail and even an adequate, connected account of the organization and scope of the Department of the Pacific.

The book is handsomely printed and bound, but the reviewer found himself constantly worried by the curious crotchets of the publisher with respect to capitalization. Although one might wish for a better book in some ways, Miss Hunt has certainly earned the gratitude of military and western historians alike by suggesting the outlines and character of a field hitherto little cultivated.

*Pomona College*

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

REUNION AND REACTION: THE COMPROMISE OF 1877 AND THE  
END OF RECONSTRUCTION. By *C. Vann Woodward*. (Boston: Little,  
Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. x, 263. \$4.00.)

THIS excellent and provocative study is a major contribution to an understanding of the end of the Reconstruction period in particular, and of American political and economic history in general.

The author proves that the Wormley Conference, although later of propaganda value, had nothing to do with the selection of Rutherford B. Hayes as President and with the removal of the last federal troops from the former Confederate States. Rather, a political-economic agreement had been launched weeks earlier by close Republican associates of Hayes, by a group of Southerners, and by a set of Northern railroad interests. The Republicans were led by two journalists formerly of Ohio, William Henry Smith of the Western Associated Press and the better-known Washington columnist, Henry Van Ness Boynton. Another journalist, Andrew J. Kellar, editor of the Memphis *Avalanche*, was the principal negotiator for the Southerners, mainly composed of ex-Whigs turned Democrats who had little difficulty in swinging their more orthodox Democratic confreres in the House of Representatives into line when issues of great importance to their section were at stake. That journalists had thus engineered themselves into positions of great political power may surprise some, but few will blink on seeing them hook up with Thomas A. Scott of the Pennsylvania Railway to complete the political-economic circle.

The Southern ex-Whigs were disturbed at the parsimony of the Northern Democrats, and were anxious to see their impoverished section dip deep into the

federal exchequer for aid in internal improvements, and especially for assistance to Tom Scott's Texas and Pacific Railroad. The Southerners had already joined with the Northern Democrats (together they controlled the outgoing House of Representatives) and had refused appropriations for the Army, thus handicapping the incoming administration. Finally, however, the Southerners turned and broke the Democratic filibuster in the House, thus assuring the choice of Hayes.

During the course of these maneuverings, prominent Republicans lowered their bloody shirt to speak in loving terms of the poor war-torn South. But the Southerners, motivated also by an urge for continued peace, were poor bargainers. They delivered before they had firm assurance of receiving anything from the Republicans (it had been the economy-minded Northern Democrats who had helped cripple Hayes's army). Collis P. Huntington with the Southern Pacific Company managed to outbuild and outfox Tom Scott; the Hayes administration, influenced by anti-Grant reformers, began welching on the bargain; Republicans again unfurled their bloody shirt; and the South remained ostensibly Democratic and economically a colonial appendage of the East.

The author properly asks for a little soul-searching on the part of American historians. "The most remarkable thing," he says, "about the true explanation—for which the Wormley Legend has been universally substituted—is that so much of it was public property in 1877. All the essentials appeared repeatedly in the public press during the crisis—in both Democratic and Republican papers, North as well as South. How all this was obliterated from the public memory and the Wormley story substituted for it would make one of the most intricate studies in American historiography."

Mr. Woodward in his preface subscribes to Charles Beard's concept of the "Second American Revolution." But it is possible to argue that the work under review, taken in conjunction with such ante-bellum studies as those of Frederick Jackson Turner and Arthur C. Cole, indicates that the Civil War and Reconstruction periods were less of a revolution than Beard would have had us believe. Continuity of Federalism and Whiggery, as well as abrupt change, becomes an important key to Southern political history. Be that as it may, the author has brought the pertinent details of the 1877 settlement to light at an opportune time, and the most striking feature of his work is the illumination it throws on our currently beclouded political picture.

*Princeton University*

JETER A. ISELY

JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER AND THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE. By *Donald Fleming*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association. 1950. Pp. ix, 205. \$2.50.)

Dr. John William Draper (1811-1882) was born and educated in England, migrated to Virginia in 1832, completed medical training at Pennsylvania in

1836, and after 1839 became a recognized authority on physiology at the medical school of New York University. Meanwhile he had long been devoted to research in physics, having introduced both portrait and scientific photography into the United States in 1840. When he died he was declared, on good authority, to have been "the most renowned investigator in molecular physics and the most encyclopedic author in the circle of American scientists." During his later years, almost as an afterthought to a varied scientific career, Draper had attained world reputation as a writer on intellectual history and social theory. His best-known work, *The History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1874) went through fifty printings, was translated into ten languages, and was still selling sixty years later. Yet Draper's scientific work was soon forgotten, and today he is only vaguely remembered even as a historian.

The brilliance of this career, combined with the anticlimax of subsequent obscurity, invites interpretations and comparisons. The range of Draper's work renders any evaluation of it difficult but also intriguing. Mr. Fleming has made the most of this opportunity, in a biography which is everything such a study should be—painstaking, appreciative, yet keenly critical, and replete with insights derived from an intimate knowledge of nineteenth-century thought. The style is clear, but at points so compact as to make a second reading unusually rewarding.

Mr. Fleming deals primarily with the history of ideas, but places this in the setting of Draper's personal experiences. He takes account of ideas as such and also of their relation to the particular cultural environment in which Draper had his being. (In the words of John Higham's recent article in the *Review*, Fleming examines "the content of thought while still testing its functional role"—a two-dimensional perspective which is much to be desired.) Intellectually, Draper was a somewhat belated heir of the Enlightenment, both in versatility and in his boundless confidence in science as a means to "progress." The evangelical environment of his youth, although repudiated in theological terms, survived in a certain moral enthusiasm which when blended with the teachings of Comte made a religion of positivistic science. This enthusiasm led him to popularize the social and intellectual implications of science while doing battle with orthodox Christianity; and his interests finally shifted from science as such over to what its outlook and methods could mean for society. The transition was made easier by the popularity of his controversial writings and, negatively, by a lack of recognition and support for earlier physical and biological investigations. At this point Draper was one of the many casualties among scientists who abandoned basic research for activities which were better rewarded in the American environment.

What natural science lost in this connection was a gain for history and social thought; for Draper became one of the first Americans to give serious attention to the possibilities of a science of society. He carried over into the latter field the scientist's emphasis upon determinism, with certain interesting results. On the

one hand, he found himself logically propelled into a nascent authoritarianism which, one can now see, was inconsistent with his long devotion to intellectual freedom. But determinism also made of him an American pioneer in the environmental interpretation of history. He held views similar to, but not derived from, Buckle, and was in a sense a predecessor of Turner.

It is indeed surprising that this physicist and physician should have opened so many vistas in historiography, which had been overlooked by literary predecessors. The scientific background had its merits, whether or not history could be made a science. In addition to presenting environmental interpretations, Draper was apparently the first American to revive the eighteenth-century concern for intellectual history. And, in passing, he prepared the first scholarly history of the Civil War, which was remarkable for the time (1867-1870) in being largely free from moral indictments. In all his historical work, he had the advantage of a flowing and impressive diction, a quality which some scientists as well as historians still possessed in the last decades of the romantic era. But Draper was vulnerable to the criticisms of professional historians, the new specialists, who were coming on the scene at the end of his career. Much of his work was superficial and doctrinaire in tone, and hence was rapidly superseded when more critical scholars "took over." Meantime, specialization in science rendered his early work in physics and biology even more obsolete, so that by 1900 he was recalled only as a champion of science in the controversies of the seventies.

Draper may be interpreted as one of the last of the *philosophes*, possessing their merits as well as their limitations, who lived on into an alien age of criticism and specialization. Mr. Fleming has so analyzed this story as to add much to our understanding of the intellectual cross-currents of the nineteenth century.

*Johns Hopkins University*

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

RUFUS JONES, MASTER QUAKER. By *David Hinshaw*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1951. Pp. xi, 306. \$4.00.)

To most of us who are historically conscious of the changing doctrines of our own brand of Christianity in the last three centuries the Quakers appear to have enjoyed greater continuity of belief and practice than the rest of us since the days of William Penn, if not of George Fox. We think of Elizabeth Fry, of John Woolman, of John Bright, and we are apt to assume that the Quaker meetings of England and the United States have continuously supplied leaders for the radical reforms most needed in the social structure and the body politic of which they constitute such a small section. It comes as something of a surprise therefore to be reminded that the Society of Friends in the United States went through a long and arid period in which it discouraged its members from taking part in public affairs and neglected even the work of higher education which the Congregational Church in New England had never failed to promote. This

period drew to a close with the founding of Haverford College in 1833 and the sister colleges of Earlham and Guilford a little later, but the divisions in the society, which had arisen from the refusal of the strict and literal-minded circle of "birthright" Friends in the neighborhood of Philadelphia to hearken to the new leaders who were inspiring a revival of activity in the meetings farther afield, continued almost to our own day. It was healed by the work of the second generation of men and women educated in the new institutions of learning, and of these Rufus Jones was the greatest.

Rufus Jones combined a sound historical sense and a strong practical bent for getting things done with a deep mystical religious faith and that awareness of his own mission which is spoken of by the Quakers as "having a concern." He published more than fifty books, of which a considerable number were founded on the most thorough historical research, without ever interrupting for very long his career as a college teacher. He "had a concern" for the unity of the Quaker community and the extension of its influence which carried him to every part of the United States and England and eventually to more distant parts of the world. And above all he loved and understood his fellow men. He was fortunate in his origins, for his own family supplied him with spiritual guides in the persons of two Quaker saints, Aunt Peace and Uncle Eli, and the backwoods community of South China, Maine, taught him democracy and a homespun philosophy about everyday things which endeared him to many an alien audience. To him the distinctions drawn by most of his neighbors, after he moved to Philadelphia and Haverford, between "birthright" Friends and other Christians who had hearkened to the inner voice, between the members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites who had accepted new leadership in the nineteenth century, were not only unimportant but harmful. His doctrine was not easily accepted by the older generation, nor even perhaps by those of his contemporaries who regarded themselves as liberals and who had made him the editor of the *Friends' Review*. He was probably acclaimed as a great preacher and spiritual leader in other Christian communities before his worth was fully recognized by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. But by 1917 the opposition had almost disappeared and the work of the Friends' Service Committee, for which he supplied many of the practical ideas as well as much of the spiritual inspiration, has continued more and more to unite Quakers in England and America and to give them a renewed sense of their universal mission.

The story is faithfully told by David Hinshaw, and it may seem ungracious to say that this biography is scarcely worthy of its subject. The introductory chapters of Quaker history are well written and interesting but contain nothing new. The long chapters about the early years are scarcely needed in view of the fact that they were so fully covered in the autobiographical volumes. On the other hand the chapters on Rufus Jones as an author and on the early years



of the Friends' Service Committee are very inadequate. Throughout there are too many appreciations of Rufus Jones by other people, too few of his own letters. It is really more a memorial volume than a definitive biography, and perhaps the best part lies in the recollection of conversations bringing back the salty flavor of Rufus Jones's stories, which incidentally did not suffer from any slavish adherence to literal fact. "Thee knows that was an exaggeration, Rufus, doesn't thee?" would be Mrs. Jones's mild rebuke at the end of a "grand story." "Maybe thee's right," he would reply, but he never seems to have changed the story.

There is still room for a volume of Life and Letters to contain, it is to be hoped, an adequate treatment of Rufus Jones's contribution to the history of religion and the history of ideas. For not only did he add to our knowledge of the lives and the writings of the Christian mystics but he related their teachings and influence to the general course of human history.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN TAFT MANNING

RUNAWAY STAR: AN APPRECIATION OF HENRY ADAMS. By *Robert A. Hume*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 270. \$3.75.)

IN the opinion of many, no other writer of American history is as fascinating nor, as a person, probably as misunderstood, as Henry Adams. Except for the years immediately following the First World War, when his *Education*, and to some extent his published letters, were widely read, he has been a subject chiefly of interest to the student and of controversy to the specialist. This is not due to neglect. Henry Adams does not speak to the multitude. He spent most of a lifetime probing, thinking, synthesizing, and writing for the few; these he hoped would learn from his books enough lessons to help equip them for better leadership of the multitude. History was full of lessons for Henry Adams, and students have regarded his books as a rich source of instruction. Nevertheless, he insisted that he failed in his task, and that is where most of the controversy begins. There is no controversy, however, about his pre-eminence as a historian, as a brilliant thinker, and as a consummate master of prose. Behind all that lay a private life which is fascinating to explore.

Robert A. Hume, a literary critic, has written this book in order, as he says, "to explain to myself, and to others interested, why Henry Adams is one of the most meaningful persons to have lived in the present century." At the same time he hopes the book will attract a larger number of understanding readers to Adams. Perhaps Mr. Hume would have succeeded better in the last purpose if, instead of concentrating on writing an explanation for himself, he had tried more deliberately to interest others. Basing his book entirely upon published material by and about Adams, he describes and evaluates almost every known piece of Adams' writing, beginning with his student days at Harvard and ending with the completion of the *Education*. Written in a style that strains the impersonal

to the utmost, the author manifests an extensive appreciation for Adams, but the book is obviously for the specialist and therefore will not add appreciably to the reading public Henry Adams has long claimed.

Certain portions of Adams' writings are given clinical attention, largely because Mr. Hume is interested in evidences of autobiography. In analyzing the *History*, he gives Adams credit for defining the character of the American people; nevertheless he finds that "an impulsive liking for 'the people' was not inherent in Adams's temperament. The democratic sympathy found in the *History* may have been deliberately conceived as a concession to necessity." The suggestion of Adams' insincerity in this remark is unfortunate. Without attempting to evaluate the thoroughness of the research on which the *History* was based, Mr. Hume finds that it has "those qualities of comprehensiveness and delicacy, of scholarship and readability, of power and ironic humor, that befit a significant segment of the human drama."

Mr. Hume accepts Adams' doctrine of women as a social force, yet poses this curious juxtaposition: "They are, no doubt, a strange triumvirate: Marian Hooper Adams, Arii Taimai, and the Virgin of Chartres; but each of them brought something of the meaning of life to Henry Adams, and he was one compelled to accept such meaning and prize it wherever he found it." Arii Taimai, the seventy-year-old Tahitian matriarch who dictated her memoirs to Adams, may have given him very briefly a bit of life's meaning but hardly enough to put her in the above company; nor in a strict sense is his wife to be included with the Virgin of Chartres, for the latter was purely intellectual.

The question about Adams' pessimism is taken up several times in the book, with somewhat disappointing results. The only definite conclusion reached is that he was not an "unalloyed pessimist," because his pessimism was alloyed with hope. Adams, the author tells us, was an intellectual, a sensitive observer, a disciplined scholar and artist, a man of hypercritical reasoning powers who, because of these characteristics, was compelled to discern the frightening condition of contemporary society. The trouble is that these characteristics do not prevent any man from being a pessimist. Unmistakably Henry Adams always had hope, and he had far more than that when the pedagogue in him was not attempting to lead a student into devious bypaths while pursuing some unlikely answer. On this controversial question Mr. Hume could have built a stronger case.

Minnesota Historical Society

HAROLD DEAN CATER

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volumes I and II, THE YEARS OF PREPARATION, 1868-1900. Selected and Edited by *Eltig E. Morison, et al.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xxix, 800; vi, 801-1549. \$20.00.)

Mr. Morison has produced a model that on the whole future editors may well

follow. Even the index is full, accurate, and intelligently subtitled so that one can actually find things from it. Proofreading so letter-perfect is rare. The Harvard Press has provided clear, readable type and an attractive makeup. Most important of all, the letters are accurately reproduced. Careful checking of hundreds of letters reveals only one substitution of "Anna Bulloch Roosevelt" for "Martha Bulloch Roosevelt" and possibly two or three faulty dates. Mr. Morison has followed, as Senator Lodge did not always do, Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion to the senator to print even her husband's more violent comments and in any case to print a letter in full or not at all. Only in the case of the Lodge letters, which for some reason Mr. Morison failed to use during the two years when the originals were available, has the editor omitted parts of letters. Here he has cut, without indication of omission, important passages from twenty-four letters that he has printed, among them an explanation of why Roosevelt did not run for mayor in 1894 and revealingly frank comments on Bayard, Gorman, Grant, Harrison, Voorhis, a Reed-Hale dinner, and brother Elliott. Omitted entirely are 130 other letters to Lodge that contain important material for the historian. Mr. Morison's statement, then, that for these years this collection can be taken "as a substantially complete record of the existing correspondence" with Lodge is misleading.

Otherwise Mr. Morison and the Roosevelt family in particular deserve commendation for their intelligence and for the service they have rendered the historical public in publishing without censoring letters that are critical or that might be considered damaging to public men of the day or distasteful to their heirs, and, most of all, in printing without hesitation passages that might be used to depreciate Roosevelt himself. For instance, Mr. Morison has published the passages most specifically glorifying war for its own sake (e.g., "If it wasn't wrong I should say that personally I would rather welcome a foreign war") and those indicating Roosevelt's willingness to get what he wanted even at the cost of war (e.g., "It is difficult for me not to wish for a war with Spain for such a war would result at once in getting us a proper Navy"). The editor has also included comments showing the snobbery under which Roosevelt was brought up, his apology to Long when his indiscretions had brought a reprimand, revelations of wire-pulling to obtain appointments in Washington, the passage about "Jew bankers," intimate comments on troubles with his brother Elliott, countless vituperative outbursts important to understanding Roosevelt, and numerous devastating characterizations of his contemporaries, even presidents. To be sure, as Mrs. Roosevelt pointed out, her husband was a historian and would have wanted his correspondence made available, but few editors and still fewer families have the sense of historical values, the public spirit, and the confidence in their hero's fundamental soundness to resist the temptation to protect him or others by censoring passages that many less enlightened than Mr. Morison and the Roosevelts would have suppressed as damaging.

One wonders why in a work otherwise so complete certain collections such as those of Jane Addams, Bristow, R. H. Dana, Harrison, Lissner, C. I. Long, Perkins, Rowell, Steffens, and Stubbs were neglected, why the date of publishing the Lodge-Roosevelt letters is given as 1921 when it was 1925, and why the reader is told that the bulk of the Library of Congress collection falls after 1889 whereas actually there is little before 1897. But, none the less, Mr. Morison has meticulously combed nearly all possible sources of Roosevelt letters with rewarding results.

Selection of those worthy of printing from the vast number of letters available raised perhaps the most serious problem. Regrets of invitations, acknowledgments of gifts, formal notes of condolence, letters similar to others in content or spirit about appointments to office or about pressures on Roosevelt as civil service commissioner, and repetitions to numerous people of his unwillingness to run for vice-president have been wisely omitted. Selection among letters on hunting was necessary. Some of the naturalist items could be spared. Beyond these trivia and duplications, however, the editor has still omitted hundreds of letters. It is the basis for these latter omissions that the reviewer would question. Mr. Morison's ideal of presenting to the reader Roosevelt's "thought and action" could have been served in a much smaller publishing, if it is the general reader at whom he aims. Few will read eight volumes for this purpose. Many historians, on the other hand, will discover that they still have to go to the manuscript collections to be certain of finding what they need. The printed volumes present an interesting picture of social life in New York and Washington and at Harvard. Yet many discarded letters are necessary for the historian studying that social life. It is a pity to have dropped out so many revealing comments on literature, history, art, and public affairs by one of the most widely read men of the time. Eight letters were omitted that the reviewer has used in writing of Roosevelt's appointment to the Navy Department, three that he thought important in dealing with pleas for a large navy, three used for a brief passage on Roosevelt's desire for imperial power, three on his love of war. Of the thirty letters to his mother and ten to his father that were not printed several add to one's understanding of Roosevelt's youth. Some of the twenty unprinted items to his Robinson brother-in-law shed light on financial difficulties at the ranch and on Roosevelt's closeness to bosses and businessmen while governor. The forty-five unused letters to his sister Corinne and three hundred to Anna contain many that are of only trivial value but many others that illumine Roosevelt's personality or his social life or that of his times; and the total picture that they would have added would be interesting social history. A discarded letter to Hay urged him to cultivate a great shipbuilder. Some of the twenty unpublished letters to Root dealt with Platt, Payn, and legislation in New York and showed Root's influence. Many of the letters to Anna dealt frankly with public figures, with his sense of the dullness of some of his relatives and his contempt for "nice but unutterably narrow" people, the timidity and greed of the wealthy, the provincialism of edu-

cated men. In one he revealed an unconscious private condescension toward mid-westerners that is important. In another he spoke of "dago diplomats" and argued that a lynching of Italians in New Orleans had been commendable. Letters have been deleted that would have been more important than those published on the anguish Elliott caused the family, if that unhappy subject was to be included at all. In short, historians cannot depend on these volumes as a substitute for search of manuscripts. It is unfortunate that if eight volumes were to be published enough more space was not used to make the collection adequate for most historical purposes.

The detailed chronology provided for the governorship, Mr. Morison's comprehensive introduction, and John Blum's penetrating essay on Roosevelt are admirable. The collection from which each letter is taken is carefully indicated. Holograph, typewritten, and printed originals are distinguished. Since so many letters were taken from copies in the Roosevelt collections (in future volumes most of them will be), it is regrettable that the recipient's collection where the original is found was not also indicated and the various Roosevelt collections differentiated. Here and there an extra footnote might have lent added significance by explaining, for example, what a "dig" friend was or, for those who have not read Eleanor Roosevelt's memoirs, how Elliott made the family despair. In view of loose charges that Roosevelt was anti-Semitic, the editor might have pointed out that, in thousands of letters, not a shred of evidence was found more valid than the one quoted use of "Jew" as an adjective in the common usage of the time to describe some leading New York bankers. Two or three times, as in the long note at the end of the police commissionership, the editor becomes more apologetic for Roosevelt than appears justified without more searching investigation than he seems to have made. On the whole, however, the footnotes are reasonably objective; they are an invaluable aid to understanding the letters. No one who has not searched out and supplied such information can begin to suspect what a labor its compilation involves.

The letters themselves portray the vividness of personality, the catholicity of interests, the virtues, the weaknesses, the enthusiasms, and the long apprenticeship in public service that were Roosevelt's through his young manhood and thus provide the key to understanding the President of later years. They present, too, a colorful description of the America in which he moved and are rich in social history. Besides, whatever else Theodore Roosevelt was, he was never dull; his qualities were enthusiastically admired by his generation; he knew interesting and important people; he had a pervading interest in public affairs and an important influence upon them; from the age of twenty-three he held public office through much of his life. Hence the letters, in the admirable form into which Mr. Morison has put them, offer interesting, sometimes exciting, reading.

*University of Wisconsin*

HOWARD K. BEALE

TYRANT FROM ILLINOIS: UNCLE JOE CANNON'S EXPERIMENT WITH PERSONAL POWER. By *Blair Bolles*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1951. Pp. 248. \$4.50.)

SPEAKER Joseph Gurney Cannon encountered the foliating program of the Progressive reformers after the election of Theodore Roosevelt in 1904. As the organizer of the House and the dictator of its rules he was in position to block the Progressive bills which he disliked. This book is a detailed and explicit account of the struggle between Uncle Joe and the Progressives. It is not a new theme but no previous writer has focused upon it so exclusively as Mr. Bolles.

The picture of Cannon as the czar of the House is vivid and convincing. The explanation of his power both through organization and through popular appeal to his associates in the House and to his constituents indicates his real command. That in a democracy he should have dared to use that power to its extreme limit is the inconsistency that discounts his political acumen. He used his power over the House to block the program of the President and the bills of the Senate and forced them to seek him out to formulate their measures. Theodore Roosevelt's last four years as President were barren of achievements because Cannon rejected trust regulation, tariff reduction, conservation, tax reform, and anti-injunction measures in behalf of organized labor.

The Speaker aspired to succeed Roosevelt in the White House, but he made no headway with a public whose ears were tuned only to T. R. publicity. Nevertheless he dictated his party's platform, and used it to shepherd a wavering President away from Progressive allurements and even trapped Taft into supporting his re-election as Speaker. His arbitrary and dictatorial domination of legislation drew the concerted fire of La Follette and other Progressive leaders until their own programs became identified with the dislodgment of the tyrannical Cannon. Cannonism, symbolized by the Republican Speaker, was the repellent of voters by which Champ Clark foresaw Democratic victory in 1910 even though Cannon had been shorn of his power by the reform of the rules some months before the election.

The book is well written. It abounds with live phrases and some glittering quotations. Unfortunately it supplies the scholar no citations, and it is impossible to know whether some of the quotations are from principals concerned or whether they represent judgments of commentators, partisan or otherwise. Some of the statistics cited (p. 17) are overgenerous with ciphers and confusing. It is out of character to be told (p. 43) that Uncle Joe "drank champagne from a kitchen tumbler" in his Danville study. The panic of 1893 predates the Wilson tariff of the following year and that tariff was not "followed by panic" (p. 186). The index is satisfactory and there is a five-page bibliography. The author offers a more penetrating and clear-cut analysis of this important political controversy than we have heretofore had. Readers will find it both entertaining and edifying.

*University of Nebraska*

J. L. SELLERS



## AGRICULTURAL DISCONTENT IN THE MIDDLE WEST, 1900-1939.

By *Theodore Saloutos*, Associate Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles, and *John D. Hicks*, Morrison Professor of History, University of California. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 581. \$6.75.)

THIS was a difficult book to write. It is a difficult book to review. The authors have achieved marked success in synthesizing the complicated events that aroused agricultural discontent in the Middle West in the twentieth century. They have not only lived into the documentary and printed material pertaining to the subject but they have lived within the area mapped on page 5 and designated as the "center of agricultural discontent." It was in Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota that the "gusty winds of reform" loosed their fury; but the authors recognized the impossibility of isolating them from neighboring North Central states and even beyond. In their own words, the term Middle West, if interpreted with reasonable elasticity, sets satisfactory limits to the scope of the study.

Two introductory chapters, which follow in the main previously published articles by Professor Hicks, set the stage and escort the reader from "Populism to Insurgency." The author's study of this phase of agrarianism entitles him to say that throughout the western Middle West, and to a considerable extent throughout the country, the legacy of Populism determined the course of political development during the opening years of the twentieth century.

In the remaining seventeen chapters the manifestations of discontent are painstakingly traced through co-operative movements, the American Society of Equity, the Farmers' Union, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Farm Bloc, the McNary-Haugen Movement, the Farm Strike, the Nonpartisan League, and the New Deal. Relentless research has enabled the authors to elucidate the complicated problems that plagued the farmers, unlike anything hitherto experienced in this country or in any other country. In contrast to the years after the armistice, the early years of the century were prosperous. It was the impact of war that plunged the agricultural population from the heights of fabulous war prices and the consequent land boom into the abyss of mortgage foreclosures and bank failures. In spite of periodic hard times, the excessive individualism of the farmers was a formidable obstacle that blocked the efforts of leaders to organize them in self-defense against railroads, middlemen, corporations, monopolies, and shiftily politicians.

The volume is much more than a history of agrarian parties, usually called third parties. Appropriate space is allotted to the efforts of organizations to put pressure on the major parties to enact legislation in the interest of agriculture and to provide better transportation and marketing facilities through associations and co-operatives and to protect the producer against dishonest practices in the weighing, inspecting, and grading of commodities.

It was a difficult task to compress this material into reasonable bounds and to present it in language intelligible to the lay reader. Particularly is this true of the years when Congress and economists wrestled with McNary-Haugen bills, marketing acts, equalization fees, stabilization methods, price-fixing, soil conservation, and other new-fangled projects unknown to Grangers and Populists. With all the merits of the book, one is nevertheless reminded of the concluding sentence of a letter: "Please excuse the length of this letter; I didn't have time to make it shorter." Every chapter contains names of men who were active in various capacities. In some cases there is a mere mention of an individual. Perhaps the period is too recent to attempt the evaluation of personalities, but one could wish for emphasis.

Authors and publisher have achieved excellence of workmanship. Competent copy-editing and proofreading have eliminated irritating irregularities and errors, with few exceptions. However, the authors could have held to the standard of dispassionate historical narrative and could still have set forth in greater detail the "contemptible efforts of so-called respectable elements in society to graft on the war and to steal on its passions and its patriotism for their own private purposes." These words were used in a private letter written by a distinguished citizen of Minnesota who lived through the hectic years of the World War and the hysteria that followed. The organizers of the Nonpartisan League and their allies and sympathizers—men like Townley, Lindbergh, and La Follette—felt the sting of distortion that was blazed abroad in the press, from platforms, and on billboards. La Follette's speech in the St. Paul auditorium in 1917 was shamefully misquoted; and a sentence from Lindbergh's book was wrested from its context and was made to say something very near the precise opposite of what the next sentence shows that he did mean. Lindbergh did not vote against declaring war on Germany, as stated on page 186; he was not a member of Congress when the resolution was adopted. Neither is it true, as stated on page 178, that Lindbergh had written a book "whose bungling expressions on the war came home to roost . . . when published by the opposition during the campaign." The "bungling expressions" were campaign distortions, similar to the tortured meanings in the press of Wilson's "too proud to fight" speech.

*University of Minnesota*

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF FLOYD B. OLSON. By *George H. Mayer*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1951. Pp. 329. \$5.00.)

THE comment was made on Franklin D. Roosevelt, when he died, that while most public men are either this or that, Roosevelt was this and that. This somewhat cryptic analysis of the Rooseveltian greatness seemed apt to those who had first-hand knowledge of his paradoxical character. It might have been applied to Floyd B. Olson, whose personality and extraordinary political career are de-

scribed with more than usual adequacy in George H. Mayer's new biography recently published by the University of Minnesota Press. For Olson, like Roosevelt, was full of contradictions, and the fact that death cut his career short before his life had time to explain itself left him the more enigmatic figure.

Mayer's biography is a good, honest, and often juicy job of setting forth the elements of the enigma of Minnesota's depression-times Farmer-Labor governor. It puts down what the record made it reasonable to say about the motives of a man who came out of societal nowhere to dominate a decade of social parturition in his state, to burst the rocket of his brilliance just above the national horizon, and then disappear without leaving any answer as to what he might have become. He was a mighty-lot-of-man, Mayer makes it clear; and to the many who knew him, one way or another, these remembrances are refreshing.

Mayer attempts to explain Olson's motivation as an impulse to rebellion cultivated in him by the experiences of his youth. This is a very widely accepted notion, believed by some who had close associations with Olson during the sixteen years his star shown in Minnesota. To a newspaper reporter who covered his office during the years when Olson was county prosecutor of Minnesota's most populous county, and later watched him from a local city editor's desk while he refereed turbulent economic warfare, this explanation of Olson's motivation is not satisfying. The instinct that dominated Olson's character was not rebellion but an extraordinarily sure instinct for political power.

Mayer makes the error of accepting a very prevalent, but mistaken, estimate of the epoch in which Olson was a dominant figure. He appears to believe that the Farmer-Labor interlude in Minnesota politics was an aberration in the political continuity of the state, and that Olson's career was, therefore, an excursion over a political detour rather than a trip down the main line. One still hears Republican elders refer to Minnesota as a "Republican state in a normal year," and this opinion reflects the conviction that Olson was a political accident cast up by agrarian and proletarian revolts that had their flow and now have ebbed. The hard fact is that no Republican candidate for president has carried Minnesota since 1928, and that the governorship of the state has not in recent years been held by a political figure subservient to the GOP's old guard!

A profound change was taking place in the state's (and the nation's) political continuity at the time when Floyd Olson's experience had sufficiently ripened to make the step from Hennepin county attorney to governor of Minnesota possible. Olson understood this change, and was superbly ready to ride it into power. He was dead certain the Republicans were political losers; and Floyd Olson let no impulse of rebellion entrance him into backing losers. The legend, cultivated still as lanolin for old burns, that he was a winner because Republicans wouldn't accept him on their team (that the GOP's great error was in letting Olson get away from them) is rather pathetic. Olson's personality, for all his sociability, contained a wire-edge of arrogance. He could sneer at chumps, and on occasion

did. "The trouble with the Farmer-Laborites," he once told Dewey Johnson, a whilom congressman from Minneapolis, "is that they have too damn much Indian in them."

The paradox in Olson that puzzled the bleeders-for-causes that flocked to his camp—and who still warmly remember him as their knight in shining armor—was that they knew him to be a conservative at heart. This paradox still puzzles many of Olson's political associates, and it is interesting that Mayer, who talked to many of them, leaves the puzzle hanging in air. The same puzzle hangs over the story of Franklin Roosevelt, who for all his liberal vocalizing permitted precious few changes to be made in the political institutions he so successfully manipulated.

Mayer's biography of Olson contains most, if not all, the elements of the riddle of political power—a fascinating riddle that some men, Olson among them, solve by instinct, but no one solves without a sense of power. To anyone interested in politics, *The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson* makes good reading indeed.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

NAT S. FINNEY

THE CLOSING OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN: DISPOSAL AND RESERVATION POLICIES, 1900-50. By E. Louise Peffer. [Publication of the Food Research Institute.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 372. \$4.50.)

THIS is a highly useful and welcome study of federal land policies in the twentieth century, especially those relating to the old or original "public domain" and to the government controls instituted on the reserves. The author is primarily concerned with the adaptations in land distribution policies that were framed for the benefit of grain farmers in the humid Mississippi Valley to conditions in the semiarid areas where grazing was the highest and best possible land use. With great skill the reader is introduced to the complex political problems involving the efforts of powerful economic groups such as the cattlemen, the sheepmen, the real estate people, the homesteaders, and those who wanted to attract home builders to questionable regions no matter what the risks to secure legislation favorable to their interests. Some of the story is familiar, such as the treatment of the Roosevelt-Pinchot advocacy of conservation and the resulting policies introduced within the national forests, but other parts are fresh and all are well handled. Most useful is the involved but judiciously presented account of events leading to the adoption of the Taylor Grazing Act and subsequent amendments and administrative orders that placed practically all the remaining public land of any real value under organized government control, thereby bringing the era of free land to a virtual halt. Miss Peffer's study now takes its place along with those of Hibbard, Robbins, Ise, and Teele as an indis-

pensable monograph on the forces that have made American land policies and the pattern of land use.

While the political background and economic motivation of changing policies are so well handled, there is no quantitative examination of the functioning of the land system. We still have to rely upon congressional hearings and commission and departmental reports for our knowledge of the abuse of land laws by the "interests" including homesteaders. In 1934 the Department of Agriculture planned an extensive study of western homesteading to determine the groups and economic interests that were working through these laws contrary to their intent, but the adoption of the Taylor Act made further investigation unnecessary and the plan was dropped, unfortunately for the historian. With Miss Pepper's study establishing the groundwork for such an investigation, it is hoped some land economist or historian will undertake the intensive statistical work in the land entry books and deed, mortgage, and assessment records that will provide us with the facts concerning the distribution and concentration of ownership of land in the thirteen far western states.

A few corrections and suggestions may be in order. Land scrip and warrants issued prior to 1850 were either assignable or could be entered in the name of the warrantee as "feme covert" whose rights had previously been assigned. The land grant in sections per mile of the Northern Pacific Railroad was not less but was double that of the Union Pacific Railroad. The problem of federal participation in local government costs in areas where it takes or retains land from the tax rolls is a perennial one that did not originate in 1936. Sales of public land continued well after 1891 despite efforts to restrict them. I wished for more attention to railroad and land company efforts to hasten government support of reclamation, for more concern about the pressures that induced the adoption of ill-planned irrigation projects, for more careful consideration of the arguments in behalf of the Department of Agriculture's administering such major agricultural problems as range control and development in view of its responsibility for the improvement and welfare of the livestock industry.

*Cornell University*

PAUL W. GATES

THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY. By *Wilson Record*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. x, 340. \$3.50.)

ALTHOUGH the American Negro has many reasons to question the democratic process, *Wilson Record* points out in his excellent *The Negro and the Communist Party* that the colored American has analyzed and rejected Communist appeals more accurately and promptly than any other segment of the population. Domestic and imported agents of the Soviet have spent more time, energy, and money in attempts to proselytize and capitalize on lynchings, segregation, job and educational discrimination, the ghetto, mob violence such as the brutal assault in

Cicero, Illinois, on a Negro veteran, and court injustices from the Scottsboro Case through that of Willie McGee than on any other failure of American democracy. Although a few Negroes like Paul Robeson and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., have listened to and followed the Soviet will o' the wisp, very few Negroes have emulated them except briefly during emotional reactions against particularly venomous cases of injustice.

Mr. Record has meticulously examined every available document dealing with the tortuous Communist line on the race question. He has studied each attempt to lure Negroes into the party before, during, and after it was made. The result is a fascinating, exciting picture of the failure of the Communists to obtain and hold any sizable following among Negroes. But Mr. Record gives no comfort to gradualists who smugly propose to "let the slow processes of education solve the race question." He effectively demolishes the dangerous and fatuous assumption of some American whites that Negroes, with the exception of a few "agitators," are reasonably well satisfied with their lot and thus may be expected to reject revolutionary philosophies like communism. He makes it crystal clear that the Kremlin's feeble progress in selling the American Negro on the virtues and values of proletarian dictatorship is due entirely to two factors: first, his faith in the democratic process with all its failures; and, second, his ineradicable distrust of any and all forms of dictatorship, however benevolent their claims, since the Negro's experience with the dictatorship of slavery and that which has kept him in second-class status as a citizen has been what it has been.

Finally, Mr. Record demonstrates that the chief bulwark against communism among Negroes has been the fight for freedom which the Negro's own organizations have waged over the years.

The adjective "definitive" has become so worn a coin through careless over-use, one hesitates to use it again. But if ever it has been justified to describe one of the most important battles for democracy, it can be applied confidently to Mr. Record's *The Negro and the Communist Party*.

New York, N.Y.

WALTER WHITE

BRAZIL: PORTRAIT OF HALF A CONTINENT. Edited by T. Lynn Smith, University of Florida, and Alexander Marchant, Vanderbilt University. [The Dryden Press Sociology Publications.] (New York: Dryden Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 466, plates. \$5.75.)

José Vasconcelos, the Mexican philosopher, once predicted that the Amazon valley would be the habitat of cosmic man. Mr. Vasconcelos may be right in the long view of things, but there does not seem to be any chance that his prophecy will be achieved in the foreseeable future. For the time being we will have to content ourselves with Brazil as it is. By this we do not mean to suggest that we



will have to be content with little, because Brazil, as even Mr. Vasconcelos insinuates, is a country of superlatives. Messrs. Smith and Marchant look upon Brazil as "a very important part of the world's surface," and they know what they are talking about.

Brazil [they write in their preface] is the largest country in the New World in terms of area, and the second largest in terms of population. It occupies one half the territory of the entire South American continent. Fully 50 percent of all South Americans are Brazilians; indeed, of all Latin Americans, one out of three is a Brazilian. In South America, Portuguese, the tongue of Brazil, is spoken by more persons than Spanish; and in all of Latin America, Portuguese is a close second to Spanish as a language in daily use by the people. Economically, culturally, strategically, or from the standpoint of one interested in a good vacation, play, and recreation, Brazil is a country to be reckoned with.

It must not be supposed, however, that the editors have allowed themselves to be carried away by these facts, and that their book is a manual put out under the auspices of the Brazilian chamber of commerce. On the contrary, their portrait of Brazil is a series of scholarly studies by several hands on history, geography, population, culture, economy, and institutions. Eight of the nineteen chapters are by Brazilians or by adopted Brazilians: Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg (on geography), Arthur Ramos (Negroes), Carlos Borges Schmidt (rural life), José Arthur Rios (cities), Emílio Willems (immigration), Dorival Teixeira Vieira (industry), Antônio Cândido (the family), and J. V. Freitas Marcondes (social legislation). The remaining chapters are by American Brazilianists: Alexander Marchant (history), Preston E. James (geography), Charles Wagley (Indians), T. Lynn Smith (the Brazilian people), Anyda Marchant (politics, government, and law), Earl W. Thomas (literature), and Gerrit de Jong, Jr. (music and art). Needless to say, this is quite a venture in international co-operation, and, as things turned out, speaks well for the editors. How they were able to achieve so much unity in the midst of so much potential diversity is not the least of their accomplishments.

The emphasis in the book is on Brazil today, and the approach is generally that of the social sciences; but many of the problems of the country are seen in historical perspective, so that history is part and parcel of the whole. Several of the chapters are unusually good, notably those by Sternberg, Wagley, Ramos, Smith, Willems, and Bastide. Sternberg offers a new geographical division of Brazil which makes the natural regions of the country stand out more clearly: Amazonia, Nordeste, Meio-Norte, the central-western plateau, Pantanal, Serra do Espinhaço, the São Francisco Valley, the southern plateau, and the Atlantic seaboard. Bastide, though not himself a Catholic, handles the Catholic Church in Brazil with remarkable fairness. He also has something to say on the growth of Protestantism in the country. Willems stresses the power of cultural assimilation in Brazil. De Jong says that the *fado*, now identified with Portuguese music, was

invented in Brazil, but he gives no proof for his interesting remark. In his essay "The Unity of Brazilian history," Marchant makes certain statements which one might question, but his chapter is provocative in other ways too.

The book will find a distinguished place among the numerous books that have lately been appearing on Brazil. We hope that it will have many readers. Bibliographical references are given at the end of each chapter. The illustrations are handsome and to the point. Technical matters have been competently handled.

*Catholic University of America*

MANOEL CARDOZO

## \* \* \* Other Recent Publications \* \* \*

### General History

DROIT INTERNATIONAL ET HISTOIRE DIPLOMATIQUE. Documents choisis par *Claude-Albert Colliard*, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit. [Textes et statistiques, L'Université de Grenoble.] (2d ed., Paris, Domat Montchrestien, 1950, pp. xiii, 784.) French political science has for long assured itself an honorable place in world literature in the field of international law and politics. It has stemmed out of a centuries-old tradition of an active French interest in international affairs and it has appealed to the juridical mind of the French "man of thought" to devote systematic study to international problems and to organize the material of codified international law. Students of international relations have often found it technically difficult when digging for reference purposes in documentary materials to orient themselves to various texts scattered usually haphazardly as annexes to scores of books on international affairs. What was the last convention governing the regime of the Straits? What progress was made in this sphere from the London Convention of 1841 and the Paris Conference in 1856 to the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 and to the Montreux Convention of 1936? And did not the Big Three sign a declaration at Potsdam touching upon the question of the Straits? This is only one instance to illustrate what a student of international relations is up against if he wants to devote his interest to a systematic study of a concrete international problem. The editor of the volume under review, Professor Claude-Albert Colliard, had this need in mind when he was preparing the selected documents of his *Droit international et histoire diplomatique*. He faced the problem of space and should be therefore congratulated on the selection he made and on the method of organization of the documents published. By way of illustration, he cites treaties concerning the protectorates of the old colonial policy; the system of mandates pursued by the League of Nations; and the present-day international legislation of the United Nations through the system of trusteeship. He cites examples of international agreements about mediums of communications; as to the international organizations, he quotes documents concerning confederative, continental, and Commonwealth formations, including the examples of the most recent solutions of the problems of relations between the colonial powers (France and Holland) with former colonial nations and the world organization of the United Nations. He includes further some treaties dealing with the pacific settlement of international disputes, and the first section of the book is concluded with the Declaration on Human Rights. The second part is devoted to diplomatic history—texts of the most important agreements, conventions, and treaties of the last 150 years, with the aim of giving more detailed quotation of documents related to the events of the years since Munich. The student of international relations, and more particularly of international law, will find the book by M. Colliard of considerable value because of its source material. Yet, because of this specific value, one is at a loss to explain why some important documents are not published in their entirety, as, for instance, the agreements of Locarno; why others are missing, as, for instance, the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of May, 1935, between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia; why the date is not mentioned when the Declaration on Human Rights of the UN General Assembly was approved; why in a volume of official documents the word Czechoslovakia is not spelled correctly (*la Tchéco-Slovaquie*). These are critical

remarks which do not, however, diminish the high esteem the reviewer has for the work undertaken by M. Colliard.

JOSEPH KORBEL, *University of Denver*

THE AGE OF REASON. By *Frank E. Manuel*, Brandeis University. [The Development of Western Civilization.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1951, pp. ix, 146, \$1.25.) This volume, covering the period from 1713 to 1789, is the second to appear in Cornell University's series of period studies, each of which is designed to furnish a week's reading for a college survey course. Professor Manuel's task, as set forth in the editor's introduction, was to "rewrite the basic narrative" of European history between Utrecht and the outbreak of the French Revolution in a form which "must be brief, well-written, based on unquestioned scholarship, and assume almost no previous historical knowledge on the part of the reader." At the same time, "each contributor has been urged to write for a mature audience." In carrying out his assignment, Professor Manuel first provides a general discussion of some important features of the European world of the eighteenth century. This he follows with a summary of dominant trends in scientific, religious, social, and political thought, proceeding thereafter to individual chapters on France, England, the Habsburg Empire, Prussia, and Russia. The concluding chapter deals with diplomatic and military history. It is inevitable that a compressed yet sweeping treatment of this nature should incur some criticism in matters of detail. For example, it was not Bernardin de St. Pierre, author of *Paul et Virginie* but the early eighteenth-century abbé de St. Pierre who sketched a plan for universal peace (p. 119). And to call Tocqueville simply a "nineteenth century moralist" (p. 62) or to credit the *philosophes* with "the first bold examination of reality since the Greeks" (p. 47) is to provide the enemies of synthesis with free ammunition. More important, religion deserved at least a few more pages, if only to warn the student that even in the age of the Enlightenment there was a Wesley as well as a Voltaire. Here the author appears to have been dominated by the title of his book. My personal feeling that, despite these shortcomings, Professor Manuel has presented a remarkably full and intelligent little volume derives in part from respect for his high degree of success in reconciling the not easily reconciled demands quoted at the beginning of this review. Particularly in his chapters on France and England, he has gone far beyond the degree of social and political analysis ordinarily available to the beginning history student. His use of well-selected quotations gives a quality of life all too rare in allegedly handy summaries. If supplemented by source readings, especially in the field of intellectual history, his work should be useful for teachers in a variety of courses.

FRANKLIN L. FORD, *Bennington College*

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF AUGUSTIN THIERRY (1795-1856). By *Kieran Joseph Carroll*. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1951, pp. xi, 104.) The blind historian whom Chateaubriand called the Homer of history enjoyed great popularity and prestige in his day and long after. He was less a critical thinker than an artist, and later scholars discredited many of his theories while recognizing the charm of his style and his fruitful enthusiasm for the documents of French history. In this doctoral dissertation an introductory chapter discusses the more obvious influences on Thierry's youth; succeeding chapters examine his publications for light on his accent on liberty, his theory of "racial" conflict in French and English history, his ideas on the medieval communes and on the rise of the bourgeoisie, and finally his "observations" on the subject of history. Throughout the study attention is directed to the explicit rather than the

implicit. The analysis is not searching enough to make clear what was really distinctive in a mind that reflected so sensitively the prevailing currents of thought of its generation. The quality of Mr. Carroll's writing is uneven. The organization of data is sometimes unsatisfactory; contradictory or at least discrepant statements occur more than once; above all, too many pages are marred by a grievous lack of precision or correctness in the use of the English language. All the deficiencies noted, it should be added, are common to a great many doctoral dissertations.

ELIZABETH P. BRUSH, *Rockford College*

THE MODERN UNIVERSITY. Edited by *Margaret Clapp*, Wellesley College. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1950, pp. vii, 115, \$2.50.) This volume consists of three papers delivered at the 1949 Boston meeting of the American Historical Association on the subject of nineteenth-century universities. Paul Farmer examines the Continental universities, Charles C. Gillispie the English, and G. W. Pierson those of the United States. The editor, President Margaret Clapp of Wellesley College, has written a suitable conclusion for the volume. In his essay Professor Farmer sketches in broad strokes the rise of the Continental universities and seeks to show the position they had attained in the nineteenth century: they had become subordinate to the state; they served as the voice of the national spirit; they were dedicated to the increase of knowledge. It is not surprising therefore that he finds in this situation a part of the explanation for the success with which totalitarian governments after the First World War imposed their will upon the universities without encountering vigorous opposition. The surrender of the universities, under these circumstances, was not simply a surrender to superior power. "In some measure it has been the consequence of a previous surrender in principle." Professor Gillispie devotes his essay to tracing the various attempts of English reformers to alter the antiquarian, religious, and classical tone of the old English universities, demonstrating meanwhile how much more concerned these institutions were with the development of "character" than with the encouragement of learning. Professor Pierson ventured what in some ways was the most difficult task of all in seeking to bring together in brief compass a discussion of the immensely variegated universities of the United States. The nineteenth century, he declares, was for American universities "the period of trial and failure, of discovering the elements that were essential to universities, and then assembling them in various patterns or distinctive combinations." In his discussion of these processes he seeks an explanation for what he considers to be the slow development of universities in the United States. He is unwilling to accept the easy explanation that time and money were lacking although later in the essay he acknowledges the important role money had to play in developing institutions of first rank. His explanation of the slow rise of American universities—they were retarded by sectarian competition, disagreement on functions and objective, lack of public support, and the difficulties involved in transforming colleges into universities—is particularly applicable to the privately supported eastern institutions. It should be noted, however, that the competition between sectarian groups, which prevented Protestant sects, for example, from concentrating their funds and their energy on a relatively few institutions, was an element of considerable importance in making it possible for the western state universities to emerge to prominence. Some students, having the state universities prominently in view, will perhaps be more concerned with why these institutions grew and developed so rapidly rather than with Professor Pierson's explanation of the slow growth. Aside from such points of difference, it must be acknowledged that Professor Pierson handles his difficult and complicated

subject with engaging skill. These essays constitute an interesting and valuable contribution to the literature of higher education. The Cornell University Press is to be commended for having made them available in book form.

VERNON CARSTENSEN, *University of Wisconsin*

THE JEWS AND MODERN CAPITALISM. By *Werner Sombart*. Translated by *M. Epstein*. With an Introduction to the American Edition by *Bert F. Hoselitz*. (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1951, pp. xlii, 402.) In his thoroughly documented volume, *Die Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus* (Munich, 1916), Lujo Brentano called Werner Sombart's well-known work, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, "one of the most deplorable publications of German scholarship." Professor Hoselitz, in his introduction to the American edition of this work, arrives at a very similar conclusion: ". . . much of Sombart's *The Jews and Modern Capitalism* must be rejected or severely modified. His historical facts are often faulty or imaginary; his analysis based on them is often methodologically assailable; his social theory is defective, and his interpretation of Jewish religion, law, and philosophy deduced in considerable part from biased and incomplete sources; last but not least his views of national character and the 'racial' characteristics of Jews are derived from untenable theories or purely romantic speculation" (p. xxx). "Why then print a new edition of the book?" is the logical question of its most recent editor. Of the three reasons offered by him none seems valid to the present reviewer. Sombart's work cannot be placed on the same level with Max Weber's *General Economic History* or Carl Menger's *Principles of Economics*, classics in the best meaning of the term, of which new English translations were published in the same series of works on economic history and theory. In spite of the fine general refutation in the introduction, there is a very great danger of misunderstanding, misinterpretation, and misuse of Sombart's statements, many of which were definitively controverted long ago. If the new editor was convinced of the necessity of republication, a comprehensive apparatus of footnotes should have been added. Therein each individual problem could have been discussed extensively in the light of more recent research, and full references to the literature given. The editor's bibliographical note (pp. xxxii-xlii), despite its useful and interesting critical annotations, will afford the student merely limited guidance, for only the publications of the last fifteen years are listed, and important works such as Alfred Philipp's "anticritical-bibliographical" study, in which the entire polemical literature up to 1929 is fully discussed, are omitted.

GUIDO KISCH, *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion*

AMERICAN MISSIONS IN EUROPEAN ARCHIVES. By *Roscoe R. Hill*. [Misiones americanas en los archivos europeos, II.] (Mexico, D. F., Instituto panamericano de geografia e historia, Comision de historia, 1951, pp. 138.) This booklet is divided into six parts concerned with the nineteenth century, the Carnegie Institution, the Library of Congress, Native Sons of the Golden West Fellows, university scholars, and twentieth-century programs. Presented in chronological order within the parts, this arrangement leads to some repetition. This account covers a long period of time and many countries and gives briefly for the numerous missions much factual information hitherto scattered in many published sources. No use was made apparently of manuscript materials. An attempt is made to deal with those missions which resulted in published bibliographical contributions, but not all such enterprises are included. The presentation is descriptive in character and does not always go into the circumstances under which the various missions originated. The space devoted to



descriptions of the records reproduced, which are already available elsewhere, could have been more usefully employed in expanding the histories of the missions. Bibliographical references in the text are supplemented by a bibliography of published materials. An index adds to the usefulness of this study as a reference work. Only a few errors were detected in this compendium. The date 1838 on page 13 should be 1828; the Poore transcripts mentioned in the second paragraph on page 19 were published by the Province of Quebec and not the State of Massachusetts. The reproduction activities of the Library of Congress in France were discontinued in 1936 (p. 74). Very few typographical errors were noticed. This study is not a complete history of reproductions from European archives relating to the United States. In all of the major archives concerned—those of England, France, and Spain—which have been the subject of a more intensive investigation by the reviewer, there were other projects. The Illinois Historical Survey of the University of Illinois has obtained many reproductions from the archives of all of those countries. James P. Baxter, of Maine, secured transcripts from England and France in 1885–1886. Transcripts from French archives have been obtained by Charles E. A. Gayarré, Lewis Cass, Clarence M. Burton, Frederick J. Turner, W. C. and P. L. Ford, the William L. Clements Library, and others. Important map reproductions were obtained from British archives by Archer B. Hulbert and from French, Spanish, and Portuguese archives by Louis C. Karpinski. Nevertheless this study will serve as a useful guide to students of American colonial and diplomatic history.

HENRY P. BEERS, *Washington, D.C.*

**TWENTIETH CENTURY ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE.** By *Paul Alpert*. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1951, pp. xiv, 466, \$6.00.) Until World War II defined a new period of modern European history, it remained common practice for courses in history and textbook writers to stop with the outbreak of war in 1914. Now the twentieth century, at least to 1939, has become by all accepted canons a delineated period, and historians somewhat grudgingly have come to recognize it as a legitimate field. Unfortunately, although the political historians have produced a number of textbooks to meet the need, the tendency of the economic historians has been to rest content with revising established works, usually by merely adding an extra chapter or two. Professor Alpert, who has devoted most of his study of twentieth-century economic history to the years after 1929 and over one third to the post-World War II years of confusion, deserves a measure of credit for attempting to remedy the situation. He has made an effort to provide the general reader—he addresses his book to the American public—with an understanding of contemporary economic history as seen from the vantage point of 1950, not 1750 or 1900. The chief virtue of the work is that mentioned above: it does supply the textbook reader with a complement to the twentieth-century political histories. He will find in it succinct treatments of the economic difficulties faced by Great Britain and France in the interwar years, of the Nazi war economy, of the Marshall and Schuman plans, pitched at a level he can comprehend. Professor Alpert also has the virtue, often lacking in economists, of giving full recognition to the influence of political and psychological forces in shaping the patterns of economic behavior of different European peoples. To the serious reader, however, the work has major weaknesses. Europe, for Professor Alpert, consists of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia, four independent entities which he treats almost *in vacuo*. Poland and the Balkan countries receive a few scant pages; the Scandinavian countries, Spain, Italy do not exist; nowhere does Europe emerge as a whole, nor does the reader ever see

it in its world setting, a vital necessity if one is to break the bonds of nineteenth-century conceptions. If financial problems, for instance, are dealt with at length, others, such as labor, receive short shrift. The resulting lack of integration and balance one can partly attribute to the fact that the work is based on a series of course lectures, but this does not excuse it, nor does it excuse the sloppy editing. Sources are cited for only a few of the statistical tables, and there are frequent malapropisms and misspellings. This reviewer also objects to statements based on misleading evidence, such as the remark that Germany may have won the war from a demographic point of view, which depends upon the citing of comparative vital statistics for only the years 1938-41. A careful rethinking of his lectures before they went to press would have made Professor Alpert's work a more substantial contribution to our need for good general works on the twentieth century.

JOHN BOWDITCH, *University of Minnesota*

## ARTICLES

- ELMER ELLIS. The Profession of Historian. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1951.  
 S. HARRISON THOMSON. The Historian and Crisis. *Prairie Schooner*, Summer, 1951.  
 A. L. BURNS. Ascertainment, Probability, and Evidence in History. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, May, 1951.  
 PAUL HOFMANN. Der Humanismus in der abendländischen Geschichte. *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschr. f. Literaturwiss. u. Geistesgesch.*, no. 2, 1951.  
 ROBERT C. POLLOCK. History is a Matrix. *Thought*, Summer, 1951.  
 S. KUZNETS. Statistical Trends and Historical Changes. *Ec. History Rev.*, III, no. 3, 1951.  
 E. K. FRANCIS. History and the Social Sciences: Some Reflections on the Re-integration of Social Science. *Rev. Politics*, July, 1951.  
 JAMES P. HART. Social Sciences in a Troubled World. *Southwestern Social Science Quar.*, June, 1951.  
 CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. The Problem of Metahistory. *History Today*, June, 1951.  
 CONWAY ZIRKLE. Gregor Mendel and His Precursors. *Isis*, June, 1951.  
 WALTER PAGEL. Julius Pagel and the Significance of Medical History for Medicine. *Bull. Hist. Medicine*, May-June, 1951.  
 SISTER THOMAS AQUINAS O'CONNOR. Voltaire's Use of Sources in Writing History. *Hist. Bull.*, May, 1951.  
 FERNAND BRAUDEL. L'Espagne de Charles Quint et de Philippe II [review article]. *Annales*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.  
 FREDERICK B. TOLLES. The Transatlantic Quaker Community in the Seventeenth Century. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1951.  
 R. N. STROMBERG. History in the Eighteenth Century. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1951.  
 JOSEPH DORFMAN. A Note on Interpenetration of Anglo-American Finance, 1837-1841. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Spring, 1951.  
 WILLARD A. SMITH. The Diplomatic Background of the Spanish Revolution of 1868. *Historian*, Spring, 1951.  
 JOHN L. SNELL. Benedict XV, Wilson, Michaelis, and German Socialism. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1951.  
 LOUIS MARIN. Contribution à l'étude des prodromes de l'armistice. *Rev. d'hist. de la deuxième guerre mondiale*, June, 1951.  
 A. TRUCHET. L'armistice de juin 1940 et l'Afrique du Nord. *Ibid.*  
 JEAN VIDALENC. L'exode de 1940: méthodes et premiers résultats d'une enquête. *Ibid.*  
 GIORGIO VACCARINO. Il primo Congresso storico internazionale sulla IIª guerra mondiale all'Occidente. *Rivista storica italiana*, Mar., 1951.  
 ALFRED L. KROEBER. Is Western Civilization Disintegrating or Reconstituting? *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCV, no. 2, 1951.

Problems of Development of Densely Settled Areas. Scientific Possibilities for Increasing the World's Food Supply. *Ibid.*, XCV, no. 1, 1951.

Committee on Academic Freedom. The Treatment of Controversial Issues in the Schools. *Social Educ.*, May, 1951.

## Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton

## GENERAL ARTICLES

LOUIS F. HARTMAN and A. L. OPPENHEIM. On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia. *Jour. Am. Oriental Soc.*, Supplement 10, Dec., 1950.

M. DE TSERETHÉLI. Etudes ourartéennes. *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, XLV, no. 1, 1951.

G. DUMÉZIL. Dieux cassites et Dieux védiques à propos d'un bronze du Luristan. *Rev. Hittite et Asiatique*, XI, fasc. 52, 1950.

E. DHORME. Les avatars du dieu Dagon. *Rev. hist. relig.*, Oct., 1950.

R. SCHAFER. Some Lycian Penalties. *Rev. Hittite et Asiatique*, XI, fasc. 52, 1950.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE. Greek Light on World History. *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, XLV, 1950.

R. PETTAZONI. Les deux sources de la religion grecque. *Mnemosyne*, Ser. IV, Vol. IV, fasc. 1, 1951.

V. V. STRUVE. Obshchestvennyi Stroi drevnogo Krita [Social organization of Ancient Crete]. *Vestnik drevnei ist.*, no. 4, 1950.

VL. GEORGIEV. Istoriia egeiskogo mira vo II tysiacheletii do n.e. [History of the Aegean world in the second century before our era]. *Ibid.*

A. ANDREWES. Ephoros Book I and the Kings of Argos. *Class. Quar.*, Jan., 1951.

PIERO MELONI. La tirannide di Eufrone I in Sicione. *Riv. filol.*, LXXIX, fasc. 1, 1951.

GIUSEPPE GIARRIZZO. La diarchia di Sparta. *Parola del Passato*, fasc. 15, 1951.

G. A. MELIKISHVILI. Diaukhi [Diauches]. *Vestnik drevnei ist.*, no. 4, 1950.

GIUSEPPE NENCI. Per un'interpretazione storiografica del proemio dei 'Persiani.' *Parola del Passato*, fasc. 15, 1951.

GEORGE A. PAPANTONIOU. Once or Twice? *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Apr., 1951.

LUDWIG BIELER. A Political Slogan in Ancient Athens. *Ibid.*

H. LL. HUDSON-WILLIAMS. Political Speeches in Athens. *Class. Quar.*, Jan., 1951.

MARTA SORDI. La pace di Atene del 371/o. *Riv. filol.*, LXXIX, fasc. 1, 1951.

LIONEL PEARSON. Notes on Two Passages of Strabo. *Class. Quar.*, Jan., 1951.

R. G. BURY. Plato and History. *Ibid.*

MARCUS WHEELER. Aristotle's Analysis of the Nature of Political Struggle. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Apr., 1951.

JAMES W. POULTNEY. Volscians and Umbrians. *Ibid.*

J. PAOLI. Le sigle NP dans les calendriers romains. *Rev. études latines*, XXVIII, 1950.

L. GERSCHÉL. Saliens de Mars et Saliens de Quirinus. *Rev. hist. relig.*, Oct., 1950.

MODESTO GHIO. Ennio e le fonte del primo libro di Livio. *Riv. filol.*, LXXIX, fasc. 1, 1951.

LESLIE H. NEATBY. Romano-Egyptian Relations during the Third Century B.C. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.*, LXXXI, pub. 1951.

WALTER ALLEN, JR. The "Vettius Affair" Once More. *Ibid.*

I. M. GARRIDO BOŽEĆ. Quintus Filius. *Greece and Rome*, Jan., 1951.

LLOYD W. DALY. Vota publica pro salute alicuius. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.*, LXXXI, pub. 1951.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR. New Indications of Augustan Editing in the Capitoline Fasti. *Class. Philol.*, Apr., 1951.

R. VILLERS. La dévolution du principat dans la famille d'Auguste. *Rev. études lat.*, XXVIII, 1951.

CH. PICARD. L'eleusinisme à Rome au temps de la dynastie julio-claudienne. *Ibid.*

C. E. STEVENS. Claudius and the Orcades. *Class. Rev.*, Mar., 1951.

*Id.* The Will of Q. Veranius. *Ibid.*

JOHN A. CROOK. Titus and Berenice. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Apr., 1951.

E. S. FORSTER. Columella and His Latin Treatise on Agriculture. *Greece and Rome*, Oct., 1950.

- JEAN GAGÉ. Gadès, l'Inde et les navigations atlantiques dans l'Antiquité. *Rev. hist.*, Apr., 1951.  
 JOTHAM JOHNSON. Tell Time by the Stars [Material from Dura]. *Archaeology*, Summer, 1951.  
 G. DOWNEY. Aurelian's Victory over Zenobia at Immae, A.D. 272. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.*, LXXXI, pub. 1951.  
 PHYLLIS PRAY BOBER. Cernunnos: Origin and Transformation of a Celtic Divinity. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Jan., 1951.  
 LOUIS H. FELDMAN. Jewish "Sympathizers" in Classical Literature and Inscriptions. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.*, LXXXI, pub. 1951.  
 JAMES L. KELSO. New Testament Jericho. *Bibl. Archaeologist*, May, 1951.  
 J. MUNCK. Israel and the Gentiles in the New Testament. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, Apr., 1951.  
 CHARLES H. BUCK, JR. The Date of Galatians. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, June, 1951.  
 MORTON S. ENSLIN. Along Highways and Byways. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.  
 SIR ALFRED ZIMMERN. Our Greek Augustan Age. *Class. Jour.*, Apr., 1951.  
 NORMAN H. BAYNES. The Icons before Iconoclasm. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- M. E. L. MALLOWAN. The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalḫu), 1949-1950. Ivories from the Palace. *Iraq*, Spring, 1951.  
 B. MAISLER. Excavation of Tell Qasile. *Bibl. Archaeologist*, May, 1951.  
 D. H. GORDON. The Chronology of the Third Cultural Period at Tepe Hissar. *Iraq*, Spring, 1951.  
 P. AMIET. La Ziggurat, d'après les cylindres de l'époque dynastique archaïque. *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, XLV, no. 2, 1951.  
 T. B. MITTFORD and J. H. ILIFFE. Excavations at Kouklia (Old Paphos), Cyptos, 1950. *Antiquaries Jour.*, Jan., 1951.  
 SAUL S. WEINBERG. Neolithic Figurines and Aegean Interrelations. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr., 1951.  
 RODNEY S. YOUNG. Sepulturae intra Urbem. *Hesperia*, Apr., 1951.  
 ANDREAS RUMPF. Parrhasios. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Jan., 1951.  
 A. I. TIUMENEV. Khersonesskie Etiudy, V [Studies of the Chersonese, V]. *Vestnik drevnei ist.*, no. 4, 1950.  
 V. SKUDNOVA. Dva klada monet iz Nimfeia [Two coin hoards from Nymphaea]. *Ibid.*  
 CH. PICARD. Chronique de la sculpture étrusco-latine. *Rev. études lat.*, XXVIII, 1950.  
 GISELA M. A. RICHTER. Who Made the Roman Portrait Statues—Greeks or Romans? *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCV, no. 2, 1951.  
 A. N. ZADOKS-JOSEPHUS JITTA. The Contorniates in the Royal Coin Cabinet at the Hague. *Mnemosyne*, Ser. IV, Vol. IV, fasc. 1, 1951.  
 P. BENOIT and M.-E. BOISMAND. Un sanctuaire chrétien à Béthanie. *Rev. Biblique*, Apr., 1951.

## INSCRIPTIONS AND PAPYRI

- C. J. GADD. En-an-c-du. *Iraq*, Spring, 1951.  
 J. NOUGAYROL. Le prologue du Code Hammourabien, d'après une tablette inédite du Louvre. *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, XLV, no. 2, 1951.  
 D. J. WISEMAN. Two Historical Inscriptions from Nimrud. *Iraq*, Spring, 1951.  
 T. FISH. A Letter of the First Babylonian Dynasty. *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, XLV, no. 2, 1951.  
 A. J. BEATTIE. An Early Laconian Lex Sacra. *Class. Quar.*, Jan., 1951.  
 A. J. ROOS. Remarques sur un édit d'Antiochos III roi de Syrie. *Mnemosyne*, Ser. IV, Vol. IV, fasc. 1, 1951.  
 M. DURRY. Sur l'inscription de Turia. *Rev. études lat.*, XXVIII, 1950.  
 JAMES NOTOPOULOS. Epigraphical Notes. *Hesperia*, Apr., 1951.  
 ELINOR M. HUSSELMAN. Two Documents from the Tebtunis Archive. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.*, LXXXI, pub. 1951.  
 HERBERT C. YOUTIE. Greek Ostraca from Egypt. *Ibid.*

## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm<sup>1</sup>

MÉLANGES D'HISTOIRE DU MOYEN AGE DÉDIÉS À LA MÉMOIRE DE LOUIS HALPHEN. Préface de *Charles-Edmond Perrin*, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à la Sorbonne. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1951, pp. xxiii, 713, 1.800 fr.) It was originally planned to present this impressive volume to Professor Halphen on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, when his friends and colleagues would gather to do him honor. His sudden death on October 7, 1950, prevented this and the essays appear now as a tribute to his memory. They are a worthy memento and surely they would have given him much pleasure and satisfaction had he been spared to read them. In all there are eighty essays, each limited to approximately eight pages, though in a few cases they exceed this limit set by the editors. Almost all the great names of contemporary French medieval historical scholarship appear in the list of authors, along with younger scholars as yet less well known and a few representatives of regions outside of France. It is not to be expected that all of the essays could be of equal quality or worth, but there are rewards for any medievalist who will examine the book with care. One is, however, eternally perplexed by such works. How their hidden treasures can be brought to light for the scholarly world presents a fundamental professional problem, emphasized visibly for the writer as he glances at a similar work: the *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* lying nearby on his desk with its four volumes, 1,100 pages, and sixty-one essays! Henry F. Williams' new *An Index of Mediaeval Studies Published in Festschriften* helps of course. It stops, however, with 1946, but *Mélanges* and *Festschriften* still come from the presses. Ch.-Edmond Perrin, Halphen's colleague in the Faculty of Letters at Paris, writes a brief, graceful prefatory introduction, outlining in a few paragraphs the salient features of Halphen's career and evaluating his principal contributions to medieval scholarship. A classified list of Halphen's writings is provided and his portrait serves as a frontispiece. The essays are arranged in alphabetical order according to author. If classified according to chronology they cover fairly evenly the full sweep of the Middle Ages, from antiquity to the sixteenth century, with a somewhat obvious advantage given to the fields of Halphen's major interests—the early and the high Middle Ages. When grouped systematically there are about fifteen essays each for social and economic history and for the history of art and letters; somewhat fewer for political history, and about twenty for ecclesiastical affairs—monastic, institutional, legal. Among the writings attracting more than passing attention of the reviewer were: Bonnaud-Delamare on eleventh-century peace institutions, Boutruche's English and Gascons in Aquitaine, Cahen's Anatolian commerce in the early thirteenth century, Célrier on the murder of the duke of Orléans (1407), De Clercq on the influence of the rule of St. Pachomius in the west, Dhondt's survey of the reign of Henry I of France, Fliche's picture of religious life at Montpellier at the time of Innocent III, "Charlemagne and the Oath" by Ganshof, Higounet's discussion of the rivalry between the houses of Toulouse and Barcelona in the twelfth century, Latouche's fine "La commune du Mans (1070)," Le Bras's "rehabilitation" of Boniface VIII, Lestocquoy's "*Inhonesta mercimonia*," Lopez' highly informative "The Unexplored Wealth of the Notarial Archives in Pisa and Lucca," Maisonneuve on the interdict, Marc-Bonnet's essay on Richard of Cornwall and the Sicilian crown,

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

Mollat's important critique of pontifical diplomacy in the fourteenth century, Morel's story of an association of Gascon lords in the fourteenth century, Renouard on medieval highways between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and Terrasse's work on the Almoravides. The selection of these titles in no way reflects unfavorably on those not mentioned. It does indicate, however, something of the quality of the Halphen essays and shows the rich variety of subjects discussed.

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

L'IMPERO DI GALLIENO: CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DEL III SECOLO.

By *Eugenio Manni*. (Rome, Angelo Signorelli, 1949, pp. 117.) In this scholarly, well-documented monograph, the author seeks to evaluate the contribution of Gallienus to the solution of the more pressing problems that confronted the Roman government in the third century. In brief, Manni's conclusions are as follows. Gallienus did much to secure for the empire a respite from barbarian and Persian invasions by wisely acquiescing in the rule of Postumus in Gaul and by delegating the defense of the east to Odenathus of Palmyra, while he took charge of the Danubian and African frontiers. His development of a separate cavalry corps and his giving greater mobility to the army as a whole, were factors which played a large part both in repelling attacks from without and crushing rebellions within the empire. The toleration which Gallienus, anticipating Constantine the Great, accorded to the Christians won their loyalty and helped to secure internal peace and solidarity. Following his father's capture by the Persians in 259, Gallienus adopted a vigorous antisenatorial policy which deprived the senatorial order of their hitherto dominant political role. Here, his most important act was the exclusion of senators from all military commands. This robbed them of the power to revolt against an emperor of whom they disapproved. It also opened the way to the principate to generals of equestrian rank such as the Illyrian emperors. Fear of senatorial rivals and the need to make use of the best officers available are enough to explain the action of Galerius. Manni's view that this was part of a progressive, leveling policy appears less firmly substantiated. But we may agree that the break with the senate transformed the government of Gallienus into an open autocracy. The last third of the book is devoted to two appendixes; one on Dexippus and the *Vita Gallieni*, the other on political thought in the works of the Latin historians of the third century. Unfortunately there is no map to illustrate the campaigns and frontier rectifications of Gallienus.

A. E. R. BOAK, *University of Michigan*

THE PASTORAL CARE OF SOULS IN SOUTH-EAST FRANCE DURING THE

SIXTH CENTURY. By Rev. *Henry G. J. Beck*. [Analecta Gregoriana, Volume LI.] (Darlington, N.J., distrib. by author, 1950, pp. lxxii, 414, \$3.50.) The title of this ample volume does not adequately convey the wealth of information contained therein. For example, the introductory section comprises almost one hundred heavily footnoted pages on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, from bishops on down to acolytes and lectors. Next comes a detailed treatment of the sacraments based for the most part on contemporary sources. The discussion of the mass is thorough and scholarly. It corrects many minor inaccuracies in the traditional accounts of experts such as Mabillon and Leclercq, and calls attention to the importance of Byzantine influences (e.g., the *Kyrie* and *Trisagion*). The author makes his account interesting as well as informative; the sixth-century order of the mass is compared with that of today, and there is a vivid description of Bishop Caesarius' expedient of having the church doors locked in order to prevent the parishioners from leaving before his approxi-



mately half-hour sermons were completed. The other sacraments, especially baptism, public and private penance, marriage, and extreme unction (also preaching and saints' cults) receive careful scholarly treatment. Among the points of less academic interest are the following: the giving of communion in both kinds (wine as well as bread), baptism by triple immersion (preceded by a cleansing bath, and followed by foot-washing), clerical warnings against the use of contraceptives and abortants, and against men making light of sexual irregularities, advice on curing drunkenness by the tapering-off method, and remarks concerning the discomforts of hot, crowded, church services. By and large, this highly objective account reflects considerable credit on the sixth-century clergy. Without excessive apologies it shows that the general run of clergymen were honest and efficient in their handling of church funds, were moral though not celibate in their private lives, treated slaves and serfs humanely and did much to raise the level of civilization. There is an appendix on sixth-century Christian archaeology in southeastern France.

LOREN MacKINNEY, *University of North Carolina*

MARTINI EPISCOPI BRACARENSIS OPERA OMNIA. Edited by *Claude W. Barlow*. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, pp. xii, 328, \$3.50.) This is a volume to warm the hearts of scholars. In it the works of Bishop Martin of Braga (in the Galician, northwestern corner of Spain) have been edited with scientific precision. After a concise sketch of the career of the sixth-century bishop, Professor Barlow presents, in successive chapters, nine of Martin's theological treatises, plus three short poems, his minutes of two Councils of Braga, and his Latin translation of eighty-four Greek canons. Martin's authorship of various of these works is analyzed and confirmed. A final chapter on "Lost and Spurious Works" is followed by a series of appendixes containing Latin texts concerning Martin's life and writings. Martin's nine principal works are short treatises dealing for the most part with the vices and virtues. The longest (concerning the four cardinal virtues) occupies only portions of fifteen printed pages, over half of each page being devoted to textual apparatus. By reason of its textual dependability, this volume replaces the "Martini Opera Omnia" in Migne's *Patrologia* and numerous earlier editions. Each text is preceded by a brief discussion of the treatise, its sources and importance, previous editions and manuscripts (including *stemma* diagrams). We were particularly impressed by the detailed, scholarly descriptions of manuscripts, often running to almost a page each. Professor Barlow has combed the manuscripts and printed sources with indefatigable thoroughness. For example, in the case of the treatise on the four virtues, he has notes concerning 635 manuscripts; those prior to the twelfth century (twenty-one in all) are described in detail; from later centuries he has collated thirty-six, and has examined over fifty others. The spade work for the volume, in manuscripts, early editions, and specialized literature, covered almost a quarter of a century, including research on a master's thesis and a Ph.D. dissertation, also extensive travel in Europe as a fellow of the American Academy in Rome and as a Guggenheim fellow. The scholarly value of this volume is obvious. It is a definitive work on a narrowly restricted subject. None the less, Martin's writings have broad connotations. They illustrate the fact that monastic theologians were much influenced by classical antiquity. The influence of Seneca was outstanding in the *De ira* and the *Formula vitae honestae*, which the late Middle Ages confused with Seneca's *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*. "In fact [says Barlow], we have the curious situation of a writing of Seneca whose original was lost and whose content was pre-

served only in an epitome (the *Formula*) by St. Martin; but the epitome in turn still preserved so well the content of the original that anyone could tell that it was from Seneca and he was generously rewarded with it by medieval tradition." Other less philosophical treatises (e.g., *De trina mersione*, *De Pascha* and *De correctione rusticorum*) reveal heavier reliance on the Bible, Cassian, Augustine, etc., and reveal medieval concern over heresy, immersion, the date of Easter, and other such matters. In general, the life and works of Martin provide a valuable cross section of the religious life of an outlying section of a marginal region of Western Christendom, the Sueve corner of Visigothic Spain.

LOREN MACKINNEY, *University of North Carolina*

THE LUSIGNANS IN ENGLAND, 1247-1258. By *Harold S. Snellgrove*, Assistant Professor of History, Mississippi State College. [University of New Mexico Publications in History, No. 2.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1950, pp. 96, \$1.00.) This scholarly little monograph sets forth the methods by which Henry III advanced his half-brothers in England, accounts for the king's indulgence, and proves that the resentment of the English barons was justified. The facts are well known. The main contribution here lies in the amassing of impressive evidence from the records (such as *Patent* and *Close Rolls*), itemizing grants of money, lands, gifts and "intangibles." Chapter 1 sets the stage by tracing the career of Henry's widowed mother, Isabella, her return to France and marriage with Hugh de Lusignan the Younger, and the problems which devolved upon the pair in providing for their nine children. Four were established in France, but opportunities were curtailed by the "increasing weight of French supremacy." Hence the arrival at Dover in 1247 of Guy, William, Aymer, and Alice, Geoffrey to follow. Two made profitable marriages which placed them among the great English nobles. The youngest, Aymer, was showered with benefices and ultimately forced on an unwilling cathedral chapter as bishop-elect of Winchester. The others, not permanently resident, came and went, loaded with gifts at each exodus. Following an account of the expulsion, 1258, the conclusion assesses the king's motives: the Lusignans were descended from royalty, served as the nucleus of a powerful court party, were useful as envoys and soldiers, may possibly have been intended for appanages on the French model. Except for noting how Henry's generosity transgressed the Charters, the author disclaims going into the "complexities of constitutional history." However, the account of the grants of wardships, escheats, and other lands, "which brought forth the bitterest complaints from the nobility" (p. 55), throws interesting light on the complexities of feudal tenures. Further it becomes obvious that the Englishman's appreciation of the "rule of law" was intensified by the royally sanctioned lawlessness of the Lusignans: official exemptions to them and their tenants from serving on assizes and juries and other obligations, even pardons to "their followers and servants for such crimes as debt, counterfeiting, homicide, trespass and theft" (p. 76).

FAITH THOMPSON, *University of Minnesota*

THE COMMENTARIES OF PIUS II, BOOKS VI-IX. Translated by *Florence Alden Gragg*, Professor Emeritus of Latin, Smith College. Historical Notes by *Leona C. Gabel*, Professor of History, Smith College. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XXXV.] (Northampton, Mass., Smith College, Department of History, 1951, pp. 413-618.) Students of the Renaissance will welcome this fourth installment of the *Commentaries of Pius II*, which consists of Books VI to IX, leaving four still to come. With each installment the value of the work undertaken by the translator and editor

becomes more clearly apparent. The Renaissance produced few books as revealing as this, few that tell us so much about contemporary attitudes toward the church, religion, politics, and culture, in short, about the whole mental atmosphere of Rome in the days of the humanist popes. As a factual narrative, the *Commentaries* must be treated with a certain amount of caution, for the pope was too busy a man to verify every event he recorded, and his memory was sometimes faulty. Miss Gabel's notes rectify most of the errors of fact, but they can, of course, do little to correct the more subtle forms of distortion that are the result of the author's somewhat subjective view of events in which he himself was involved. Except for the first book, the *Commentaries* remained a rough draft, which the busy pope set down at odd moments, and they leave the impression of having been written off the top of the head. But if they lack something of objectivity and the sobering effect of second thought, they are for that no less valuable to *Kulturgeschichte*, which, as Burckhardt observed, "lives chiefly on what the sources and monuments indicate unintentionally, despite themselves." Students may well be grateful to the editors who have made this work available in English and who promise eventually to publish the Latin text in its original form, the more so since the only editions published hitherto have suffered from much discreet expurgation. The books included in this installment are perhaps less personal than some of the earlier ones, and there is rather less apologetic defense of the author's official acts. A good deal of space is taken up with sketches, more or less accurate, of the history of various foreign countries in the fifteenth century: France, Burgundy, Aragon, Savoy, Cyprus, and Rhodes. Introduced with total disregard for chronological sequence, these sketches, interesting though they are in themselves, tend rather to impede and confuse the flow of the central narrative. The story of the pope's negotiations with the king of France for the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, on the other hand, is a notable contribution to the history of papal policy, as is also his candid account of the creation of a group of foreign cardinals, of the methods he used to secure the acquiescence of the various members of the college, and of Nicholas of Cusa's futile but heart-felt protest.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON, *New York University*

CHAPTERS ON MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE VISITORS TO GREEK LANDS. By *James Morton Paton*. [Gennadeion Monographs III.] (Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951, pp. xii, 212.) This book was published posthumously from material which its author had collected "in preparation [for] an extensive work on the mediaeval history and monuments of Athens" (p. vii). It is to be greatly regretted that Dr. Paton, well known through his archaeological researches and his monograph *The Venetians in Athens, 1687-1688* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), could not complete his project before his death in 1944. Actually there exists no work in any of the Western languages which covers the whole history of Athens from late antiquity to the restoration of Greek independence in the nineteenth century, except the now rather dated works of Léon de Laborde, Carl Hopf, and Ferdinand Gregorovius. Only the era of the Western domination of the duchy of Athens under the French, the Catalans, and the Florentine family of the Acciaioli, i.e., the period from 1205 to 1456, has become the subject of modern critical investigations and has been competently described by such scholars as William Miller, Antonio Rubió y Lluch, and Kenneth M. Setton (see the excellent bibliography in the latter's book *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1383* [Cambridge, Mass., 1948], pp. 261-301). The main part of Dr. Paton's last book consists of a collection of descriptions of the city of Athens, which were given by writers and

travelers of the Western world from the Carolingian period to the early eighteenth century. A few of these accounts were hitherto unpublished and others were edited in somewhat remote places or in a rather unsatisfactory fashion. Since Dr. Paton based his own publication of the texts in most cases on the best extant manuscripts and added explanatory footnotes and introductions, the material presented by him will certainly "prove of service to future investigators in the same field," as the editor (L.A.P.) of the volume hopes. One omission may be noted. Dr. Paton did not restrict himself entirely to the accounts of actual travelers. He might have included quite legitimately, therefore, in his collection the very interesting remarks which Pope Innocent III made about Athens in a letter addressed to Archbishop Bérard of Athens on February 13, 1209 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CCXV, 1559-60). Dr. Paton's book also contains a brief essay on "Turkish Athens" and a biography of the French adventurer Rinaldo de la Rue who wrote fairly elaborate reports about his traveling experiences in Martinique and in Athens between 1681 and 1688.

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN, *Princeton University*

MAIZE IN THE GREAT HERBALS. By John J. Finan. With a Foreword by Edgar Anderson. (Waltham, Mass., Chronica Botanica, New York, Stechert-Hafner, 1950, pp. xvi, 149-91, \$3.00.) This is an investigation into the history of the arrival of maize in Europe as reflected in the Renaissance herbals. The book consists of a reprint from the *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, XXXV, together with introductory matter, including a foreword by Edgar Anderson, a leading authority on the maize plant, who directed the study. The author was aided also by an art historian, who taught him the limitations which the process of woodcutting imposed upon the illustrators of the herbals, and how to interpret woodcuts. Also, from experts in the several languages and from historians of Spanish exploration, he learned the intricacies of historical interpretation of sixteenth-century records. Would that all theses, including doctoral dissertations, made a contribution as substantial as this master's thesis of thirty-seven closely printed pages. It is a worthy companion to the growing literature about maize that recently has been revolutionizing our understanding of the role of maize in history and removing any excuse, if such there has been, for minimizing the Indian contribution to American history.

JAMES C. MALIN, *University of Kansas*

#### GENERAL AND POLITICAL

- EZIO FRANCESCHINI. L'insegnamento di Ludovico Antonio Muratori. *Aevum*, Jan., 1951.  
 RAYMOND POREYE. Les Bollandistes. *L'année théol.*, fasc. 1, 1951.  
 C. R. CHENEY. *Quum* and *Quoniam* [resolving medieval Latin abbreviations]. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, 1951.  
 ANON. The Treasure of Sutton Hoo [color illustrations]. *Life*, July 16, 1951.  
 E. M. POPE. Medieval and Saxon Finds from Felmersham, Bedfordshire. *Antiquaries Jour.*, Jan.-Apr., 1951.  
 J. M. WALLACE-HADRILL. The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century. *History*, Oct., 1950.  
 E. E. BARKER. The Cottonian Fragments of Aethelweard's Chronicle. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, 1951.  
 JEAN I. YOUNG. A Note on the Norse Occupation of Ireland. *History*, Feb.-June, 1950.  
 JOSEPH R. STRAYER. The First Western Union [Crusades]. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Spring, 1951.  
 RUDOLF ZITZMANN. Der Ordo-Gedanke des mittelalterlichen Weltbildes und Walthers Sprüche im ersten Reichston. *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschr. f. Literaturwiss. u. Geistesgesch.*, no. 1, 1951.  
 ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ. *Pro patria mori* in Medieval Political Thought. *AHR*, Apr., 1951.  
 I. J. SANDERS. The Texts of the Peace of Paris, 1259. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1951.

- A. J. TAYLOR. Historical Revision: The Birth of Edward of Caernarvon and the Beginning of Caernarvon Castle. *History*, Oct., 1950.
- E. L. G. STONES. The Date of Roger Mortimer's Escape from the Tower of London. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1951.
- MARGARET GALWAY. Alice Perrers's Son John. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- THEODOR MAYER. Das Hochmittelalter in neuer Schau. *Hist. Zeitschr.*, May, 1951.
- ANTONIO UBIETO ARTETA. Monarcas navarros olvidados: Los Reyes de Viguera. *Hispania*, Jan., 1951.
- ANGELES MASÍA DE ROS. El maestre racional en la Corona de Aragón. Una pragmática de Juan II sobre dicho cargo. *Ibid.*
- FILEMÓN ARRIAS ARRANZ. La organización de la Cancillería y el despacho de documentos durante las comunidades de Castilla. *Ibid.*
- LUIS SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ. Herencia medieval de Castilla. *Rev. de estudios políticos*, Jan., 1951.
- JOSE RIUS SERRA. Un rótulo de Castilla de 1391. *Hispania sacra*, July, 1951.
- P. ROTH. Utopien als Spiegel ihrer Zeit. *Stimmen der Zeit*, Apr., 1951.
- J. DURKAN. John Major: After 400 Years. *Innes Rev.*, June, 1950.
- Id.* The School of John Major: Bibliography. *Ibid.*
- ANTHONY ROSS. Some Scottish Catholic Historians. *Ibid.*
- L. STONE. The Political Program of Thomas Cromwell. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, 1951.
- JOSEPH KRAFT. Truth and Poetry in Machiavelli. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June, 1951.
- ERIC VOEGELIN. Machiavelli's Prince: Background and Formation. *Rev. Politics*, Apr., 1951.
- BERNARD WALL. Machiavelli and the Italian Tradition. *Dublin Rev.*, 2d quar., 1951.

BYZANTINE AND ORIENTAL

- CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. Byzantium and the Christian East. *Dublin Rev.*, 1st quar., 1951.
- JAMES ROBSON. Tradition, the Second Foundation of Islam. *Muslim World*, Jan., 1951.
- Id.* Tradition: Investigation and Classification. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- Id.* The Material of Tradition, I. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- JOHN E. MERRILL. John of Damascus on Islam. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- V. RONDELEZ. Un évêché en Asie Centrale au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Neue Zeitschr. f. Missionswissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1951.

ECONOMIC

- H. P. R. FINBERG. The Domesday Plough-Team. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1951.
- BRYCE D. LYON. The Money Fief under the English Kings, 1066-1485. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- PHILIP GRIERSON. "Oboli de Musc." *Ibid.*, Jan., 1951.
- E. B. FRYDE. The Deposits of Hugh Despenser the Younger with Italian Bankers. *Ec. History Rev.*, no. 3, 1951.
- CONSTANTIN MARINESCO. Jacques Coeur et ses affaires arragonaises, catalanes et napolitaines. *Rev. hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- REGINALD LENNARD. Early English Fulling Mills: Additional Examples. *Ec. History Rev.*, no. 3, 1951.
- G. CONNELL-SMITH. The Ledger of Thomas Howell. *Ibid.*
- MOSES A. SHULVASS. The Jewish Population in Renaissance Italy. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Jan., 1951.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

- Y. RENOARD. Histoire ecclésiastique du moyen âge, I. *Rev. hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- H. A. WOLFSON. Clement of Alexandria on the Generation of the Logos. *Church Hist.*, June, 1951.
- W. H. SEMPLE. Some Letters of St. Augustine. *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, Sept., 1950.
- NORMAN H. BAYNES. The Icons before Iconoclasm. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- STEPHEN A. VAN DIJK. The Litany of the Saints on Holy Saturday. *Jour. Eccles. Hist.*, Jan.-Apr., 1950.
- LIAM S. GOGAN. The Home of St. Patrick. *Irish Eccles. Rec.*, Mar., 1951.

- JOHN HENNIG. Studies in the Liturgy of the Early Irish Church. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- LEON LEVILLAIN. Wandalbert de Prüm et la date de la mort d'Hilduin de Saint-Denis. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, CVIII.
- E. GILSON. Les recherches historico-critiques et l'avenir de la scolastique. *Antonianum*, Jan., 1951.
- ANTON-HERMANN CHROUST. The Definitions of Philosophy in the *De divisione philosophiae* of Dominicus Gundissalinus. *New Scholasticism*, July, 1951.
- DAMIAN VAN DEN EYNDE. The Theory of the Composition of the Sacraments in Early Scholasticism (1125-1240). *Franciscan Stud.*, Mar., 1951.
- KILIAN F. LYNCH. The *Quaestio de Sacramentis in Genere*, attributed to Alexander of Hales [text]. *Ibid.*
- A. SALTMAN. John II, Bishop of Rochester. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1951.
- R. J. SCHOECK. Andreas Capellanus and St. Bernard of Clairvaux. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, May, 1951.
- NIKOLAUS ZIMMER. Des heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux Beziehungen zu Trier. *Trierer theol. Zeitschr.*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.
- ROMUALD SIMON. St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen. *Round Table of Franciscan Research*, Apr., 1951.
- A. L. BINNS. A Manuscript Source of the Book of St. Albans. *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, Sept., 1950.
- C. R. CHENEY. Gervase, Abbot of Prémontré: A Medieval Letter-Writer. *Ibid.*
- LUDOVICUS SAGGI. Constitutiones Capituli Londinensis Anni 1281. *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum*, XV, fasc. 2.
- EUGENIO DUPRÉ THESEIDER. La duplice esperienza di S. Caterina da Siena. *Riv. stor. ital.*, Dec., 1950.
- ROSE GRAHAM. The Conflict between Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Abbot and Monks of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury. *Jour. Eccles. Hist.*, Jan.-Apr., 1950.
- THEODORE CROWLEY. John Peckham, O.F.M., Archbishop of Canterbury, versus the New Aristotelianism. *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, Mar., 1951.
- RICHARD H. TRAME. The Reform Activities of Denis the Carthusian (1402-1471). *Hist. Bull.*, Mar., 1951.
- LÍVIO TEIXEIRA. Nicolau de Cusa. Estudo dos quadros históricos em que se desenvolvem seu pensamento e análise dos livros I e II do "*De docta ignorantia*." *Rev. de história*, Jan., 1951.
- G. HOFMANN. Charakter der Sitzungen im Konzil von Florenz. *Orientalia christiana periodica*, XVI, nos. 3-4, 1950.
- ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN. Luther the Man. *Cath. World*, Aug., 1951.
- WARREN W. FLOREN. The Language of Luther's Version. *Cath. Biblical Quar.*, July, 1951.
- JOSEPH LECLER. Les origines et le sens de la formule: *cujus regio, ejus religio*. *Recherches de science relig.*, Jan., 1951.

## MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE LEARNING

- LUIS VASQUEZ DE PARCA. Latin medieval (ensayo de orientación bibliográfica). *Rev. de archivos, bibliotecas, y museos*, Jan., 1951.
- FRANCIS X. GUINDON. Needed Research in Medieval Education. *Cath. Educ. Rev.*, May, 1951.
- W. C. KORFMACHER. Otloh, Eleventh Century Latinist. *Folia*, V, Winter, 1951.
- GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER. Learning in Austria about 1300—Notes and Suggestions. *Church Hist.*, June, 1951.
- FRANCIS N. ESTEY. Science in the Late Middle Ages. *Soc. Educ.*, May, 1951.
- LYNN THORNDIKE. Sexagenarium. *Isis*, June, 1951.
- E. ZINNER. Magister Alard von Diest und die Pariser Beobachtungen von 1312-15. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- FRANCIS J. CARMODY. Regiomontanus' Notes on al-Bitruji's Astronomy. *Ibid.*, June, 1951.
- D. JUSTIN SCHOVE. Sunspots, Aurorae and Blood Rain: The Spectrum of Time. *Ibid.*
- ANTHONY J. DE VITO. Dante's Attitude towards the Italian Cities in *The Divine Comedy*. *Stud. Philol.*, Jan., 1951.
- HANS BARON. Aulus Gellius in the Renaissance and a Manuscript from the School of Guarino. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.



- EDWARD ROBERTSON. Aldus Manutius the Scholar-Printer, 1450-1515. *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, Sept., 1950.  
 ABRAHAM C. KELLER. The Idea of Progress in Rabelais. *PMLA*, Mar., 1951.  
 MONSIGNOR HUBERT JEDIN. The Blind "Doctor Scotus." *Jour. Eccles. Hist.*, Jan.-Apr., 1950.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

- LEO M. KAISER. Imagery of Sea and Ship in the Letters of St. Jerome. *Folia*, V, Winter, 1951.  
 ADRIEN BONJOUR. The Technique of Parallel Descriptions in *Beowulf*. *Rev. Eng. Stud.*, Jan., 1951.  
 OTTO SPRINGER. Old Norse Kumbla-Smiðr, "Helmet-Smith": The Story of a Kenning. *Jour. Eng. and Germanic Philol.*, Apr., 1951.  
 ETHEL SEATON. *Le Songe Vert*: Its Occasion of Writing and Its Author. *Medium Aevum*, XIX, 1950.  
 MARGARET FITZGERALD RICHEY. The German Contribution and the Matter of Britain, with Special Reference to the Legend of King Arthur and the Round Table. *Ibid.*  
 C. A. TRYPANIS. Dante and a Byzantine Treatise of Virtues and Vices. *Ibid.*  
 J. R. L. HIGHFIELD. Note on the Introduction of English into the Proceedings of the Convocation of Canterbury in the Reign of Edward III. *Ibid.*  
 R. L. G. RITCHIE. The Date of the *Voyage of St. Brendan*. *Ibid.*  
 R. J. TAYLOR. A Song by Prince Wizlav of Rügen. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Jan., 1951.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

- WILLIAM MACDONALD. The Uncovering of Byzantine Mosaics in Hagia Sophia. *Archaeology*, June, 1951.  
 WILLIAM EMERSON and ROBERT L. VAN NICE. Hagia Sophia: The Collapse of the First Dome. *Ibid.*  
 ANTHONY NEMETZ. Art in St. Thomas. *New Scholasticism*, July, 1951.  
 LUCIANO RUBIO. El Monasterio de El Escorial, sus arquitectos y artifices. *La ciudad de Dios*, Sept., 1951.  
 CHANDLER R. POST. Contributions to the Understanding of Catalan Painting of the Fifteenth Century. *Art Quar.*, Summer, 1951.  
 W. R. VALENTINER. The Master of the Tomb of Philippe de Courtenay in Assisi. *Ibid.*, Spring, 1951.

# Modern European History

## THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson<sup>1</sup>

MONMOUTH'S REBELLION. By William Richard Emerson. [Undergraduate Prize Essays, Yale University, Volume VIII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. ix, 98, \$2.00.) The death of Charles II on February 6, 1685, came as a cruel blow to his natural son, the duke of Monmouth, then an exile in the Netherlands. Realizing that he was likely to remain an exile as long as James II reigned, Monmouth allowed himself to be drawn into a plot for concerted risings in Scotland, London, Chester, and Dorset. By May 31, 1685, arrangements had been completed, and he set sail with approximately eighty followers for Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire. Welcomed as the Protestant duke by the townspeople, Monmouth soon had an army of three thousand raw recruits. Proceeding to Taunton, Bridgewater, and Keynsham,

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

he planned to march upon Bristol, but was dissuaded from that plan because of the fear and timidity resulting from a minor skirmish. This proved to be a major mistake. Without the aid of Bristol's manpower, the army wandered about for two weeks, without a plan, disorganized, and lacking in explicit orders. This delay enabled the royal forces to take up positions on the plain of Sedgemoor. Here the armies met, and on July 6, after a night battle of four hours, Monmouth's forces were defeated. Mr. Emerson has described these events with clarity and brevity. He believes that Macaulay has erred in exonerating William III from any complicity in Monmouth's rebellion. In the best tradition of diplomacy, William III was able to reconcile his self-interest with rectitude, as well as to aid Monmouth and warn James II at the same time. Mr. Emerson believes that despite the detailed and formal protests of the English ambassador, Sir Bevil Skelton, the Dutch officials permitted Monmouth's ship to leave the Texel without opposition. The author has given us an interesting essay on Monmouth's rebellion, in a style that is clear and direct. Although he has not added materially to the accounts given by T. B. Macaulay and G. Roberts, he has put his subject into clear focus. He should have given his readers an index, but two maps and 414 notes help to compensate for this lack. It is a very creditable first publication by an undergraduate.

L.H.C.

A CYCLE OF CATHAY: THE CHINESE VOGUE IN ENGLAND DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. By *William W. Appleton*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 182, \$3.00.) This admirable little volume brings together the results of much original research as well as the scattered studies of other scholars to give us the first relatively comprehensive study of the influence of China on England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is a concise, well-written, and beautifully printed and illustrated study which will undoubtedly remain the standard work on the subject for some time. By emphasizing the idea of the "Chinese vogue" in England, the author focuses his attention on the influences which flowed from conscious interest in and deliberate borrowing from China. No effort is made to describe or evaluate the less conscious influence of the China trade on the development of economic life and institutions; also no effort has been made to discuss China's influence on the plant and animal life of England. After an initial chapter on "Merchant and Missionary" the author traces the development of English interest in Chinese as the possible primitive language (John Webb, 1669) and in Chinese political and moral ideas. He also discusses Chinese influence on dramatic performances and deals with English *chinoiserie* and the use of the device of a Chinese traveler as critic of the local scene, which latter practice is best represented in Goldsmith's *Chinese Letters*, begun in 1760. English interest in Chinese ethical and political ideas reached its height in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the writings of Sir William Temple and Matthew Tindal, but, everything considered, the Chinese vogue probably reached its apogee between 1750 and 1760 with English *chinoiserie*. The Chinese vogue was never so strong in England and did not last so long as on the Continent, and there were always critics, but even so the extent of this influence will no doubt come as something of a surprise to many readers. English attitudes toward China shifted from a "medieval one of wonder" to one of "realistic appraisal" during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and then to one of "calculated adulation" during the late seventeenth and first sixty years of the eighteenth century, in which first Chinese government and then moral and ethical ideas, antiquities, and arts and sciences were admired. The popularity of Chinese things collapsed rapidly during

the last forty years of the eighteenth century, which ended with the not very flattering appraisals arising out of the Macartney embassy. England produced no Sinologists during the period and few Englishmen traveled in interior China, and the author is undoubtedly correct in emphasizing that the picture of China held in Europe and England was incomplete, idealized, and unrealistic in many respects. However, he perhaps attributes too much of this to Jesuit propaganda and too little to the writers of the Enlightenment who were only too willing to find in relatively unknown China, which obviously had a highly developed civilization, a living example of their own ideals. Two slips in details should be corrected. Le Comte and the first French missionaries did not reach China by Macao (p. 38), but went rather from Indochina by junk to Amoy, and the Macartney embassy did not sail across the Pacific (p. 165) but traversed the conventional route via the Cape and the Indian Ocean.

EARL H. PRITCHARD, *University of Chicago*

ADDINGTON, AUTHOR OF THE MODERN INCOME TAX. By *A. Farnsworth*.

(London, Stevens and Sons, 1951, pp. xii, 140, 21s.) As most readers will probably surmise, this monograph relates almost entirely to the British income tax. Few references are made to the income tax of the United States and almost none to those of other countries. Students of taxation will recall that William Pitt introduced his famous income tax in 1799, but that he resigned as Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1801 because George III would not accept his plan for Catholic emancipation. He urged Henry Addington, then speaker of the House of Commons, to accept appointment as his successor, "promising both support and counsel." These friendly relations were not always maintained. Pitt's income tax act provided for self-assessment of one's entire income as a lump sum with no specific details as to component parts and very inadequate provision for verification by administrators who might question the accuracy or completeness of the return. The tax yields were all far below the estimates. Addington's tax act of 1803 introduced collection at the source and classified income under five schedules—A, B, C, D, and E—with rules for administration that were so effective that the revenue yields equaled estimates and brought in 80 per cent as much as Pitt's tax although the rate was only 5 per cent as compared with 10 per cent in Pitt's law. Every British income tax since then, including Peel's revival in 1842 and the acts of 1918, 1919, and later years, have followed very closely Addington's act of 1803, though, of course, there have been minor modifications. Dr. Farnsworth says that Pitt and particularly many of his political adherents opposed Addington's proposals, belittled his abilities, and heaped ridicule upon his administration, though Pitt and all of his other successors retained Addington's fundamental principle of collection at the source which uniquely characterized the British income tax, thus distinguishing it from all others and accounting for its great success. Though giving great credit to Pitt for the first British income tax, the author criticizes numerous British and other historians for giving nearly all the credit for this tax to Pitt when in fact its fundamental feature was introduced by Addington over the opposition of Pitt and his adherents who tried to heap odium upon what was a really very remarkable financial administration of a political opponent. This monograph is a well-documented, valuable contribution though the author indulges in much repetition to emphasize his thesis. Some will probably say, even after reading it, that its title is hardly justifiable, that Pitt was the real author of the British income tax, and that Addington merely developed an improved administration of Pitt's great innovation, though nearly everyone will admit that Addington's service was very great indeed.

ROY G. BLAKEY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY. By Major *Eric William Sheppard*, Royal Tank Corps. (4th ed.; London, Constable; New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. xvi, 505, \$6.00.) If this work had been called a history of the British Army's wars on the title page instead of on one of its very last pages, there would be little quarrel with the author. But his title raises larger expectations that seem justified but are unfulfilled: the politics of this Army, including its parliamentary history; such episodes as Ulster 1914 or Lloyd George's conflicts with the generals, such figures as Sir Henry Wilson are hardly mentioned, nor are the British-French general staff conversations before 1914 and 1939, nor the institution and activities of military attachés. The treatment of the General Staff, its introduction, organization, and functioning, is scanty in the extreme and so is that of the relations with what is in Britain the senior service, the Navy, except Fisher's dubious simile of the Army as a projectile fired by the Navy. But wars, campaigns, and battles—the Army on active duty—are described concisely and evaluated fairly, and there are various features that make the book more than a mere epitome of Fortescue's thirteen-volume *History of the British Army* (which ends with the year 1870). Criticism is not spared where it is due—Haig's generalship, for example, or the dismal campaign in the Italian winter of 1943-44—and is made with "civilian courage" rather than the usual hushing up of military comradeship. This is wholesome enough, for military textbooks are not wont to be composed on the principle that faults and errors of the past might teach the soldier of today and tomorrow. The scholarship, so-called, is not always in keeping with the latest findings. Townton (1461) might still be "the greatest battle ever fought in England" (p. 7) but it was probably only one fourteenth as great as the author says: instead of the 70,000 men who fought there according to him, the most recent history of medieval warfare (Ferdinand Lot, *L'art militaire et les armées au moyen âge* [Paris, 1946], II, 140) puts the number of combatants at no more than 5,000. That Bavaria after Blenheim sought and obtained peace from the victorious allies (p. 25) is incorrect; she had no peace until ten years later. And Americans will hardly agree that the United States was brought into the War of 1812 by skillful French diplomacy (p. 158). At least two of the maps contain errors: Kloster Zeven is shown as far to the west of the Weser as it ought to be to the east (Map 3) and Luneberg should read Lüneburg (Map 47).

ALFRED VAGTS, *Sherman, Connecticut*

THE VALLEY OF THE LOWER THAMES, 1640 TO 1850. By *Fred Coyne Hamil*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1951, pp. xi, 390, \$5.00.) This is a piece of local Ontario history. Though the title indicates a time span of two centuries, the short opening chapter disposes of the 150 years between the first known visit of a European to the valley of the lower Thames in 1640 and the government's purchase of the land from the Indians in 1790 so that whites could occupy it. All the rest of the book is devoted to the next sixty years and is a detailed account of the development of this part of the country until the coming of the railway ended its isolation and undermined its dependence upon the unifying river. The author is a native of the valley, in which his family roots go back to two great grandfathers; and he has written its history with the meticulous care of a trained scholar who has spent years in collecting his material, much of it from official records in various archival collections and from newspaper files of the period. For a dozen years he has been publishing learned articles on the subject, and this well-documented work confirms his reputation as an authority upon it. In his treatment of the early settlers, Mr. Hamil seems to have fallen a victim to the confusion that early blurred the

distinction in Upper Canada between those who were genuine loyalists and those who were not. He is open to more serious criticism for his almost exclusive concentration upon local facts. The result is that he has commonly failed to see their broader setting, particularly in the politics of the day. This defect will limit the appeal of the book; and so will the style, which is generally dull and occasionally careless. There are good maps and some interesting illustrations.

A. L. BURT, *University of Minnesota*

ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. Published by authority of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science, and edited by *Coenraad Beyers, et al.* (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer.) Twelfth Year: 1949. Volumes I and II (1950, pp. xvii, 381, xxiv, 597, £2. 2s. ea.) Thirteenth Year: 1950. Volumes I and II (1951, pp. 449, xxvi, 453, £2. 2s. ea.) Of the three monographs in the year book for 1949, two are in English and one is in Afrikaans; the seven in the 1950 year book all are in Afrikaans. The most substantial of these studies are two in the 1949 publication: Dr. H. E. Werner Backeberg's "The Relations between the South African Republic and Germany till after the Jameson Raid, 1852-1896" (I, xvii, 1-302), in Afrikaans, and Dr. John Franklin Midgley's Ph.D. thesis, "The Orange River Sovereignty, 1848-1854" (II, xxiv, 594), in English. Seven of the other monographs are M.A. theses submitted at the universities of Pretoria, South Africa, and Stellenbosch and the University College of the Orange Free State. One is a brief account, with numerous plates, of the coat of arms of the South African Republic. All the authors have made good use of South African archival material and of printed British documents. In the case of topics which required examination of a wide range of books and articles the coverage is less complete. Dr. Backeberg sheds much light on the activities and influence in South Africa of German Lutheran missionaries and of President Kruger's right-hand man, the Netherlander Dr. W. J. Leyds. He also presents a fairly detailed account of German financial connections with the Transvaal. Dr. Midgley discusses very fully the political history of the Orange River Sovereignty as a British colony and events connected with its abandonment by Britain in 1854. His bias seems to be favorable to those who opposed this action. Extensive use is made of information from *The Friend*, the newspaper at Bloemfontein which was subsidized by the British officials. A careful examination of the manuscript material at the Public Record Office would probably have modified the author's point of view on many topics. The masters' theses are of a high quality for this type of research effort. They deal with South African topics. However, two of them will be of interest to scholars outside South Africa. Miss Eileen Attree's study of closer union movements in South Africa, 1838-1863 (1949, I, 303-77), brings into focus some aspects of the British colonial policy of that period. And Mr. D. J. Kotze's thesis, "Die Eerste Amerikaanse Sendelinge onder die Matabeles" (1950, I, 129-318), will be useful for students of American activities abroad in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The monographs have good bibliographies and are well indexed.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHIVAL RECORDS. Published, under the supervision of the Archives Commission, by the Publication Section of the Archives of the Union of South Africa, by order of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. TRANSVAAL, Nos. 1 and 2. (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer, 1951? pp. xxviii, 400, xxxviii, 602.) Archivists and historians in the Union of South Africa

show great zeal in making available the historical records of their country. The material (all in Dutch) in these two volumes relates to the formative period in the history of the South African Republic, 1844-1853. This material is both rich and varied. It contains reports of the proceedings of the *Volksraad*, memorials, petitions, state accounts, state papers, etc. These documents throw much light on the activities and problems of the Boers—their efforts to establish an orderly government, their financial difficulties, and their relations with British authorities, with Portuguese, and with natives. From April, 1844, to April, 1849, the minutes are labeled *Volksraad* at Potchefstroom and Ohrigstad. Beginning with May of the latter year they refer to "*Die Volksraad van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek*." The people called themselves or were called "*Emigrante Boeren Noord van den Vaal Rivier*" or "*ge emigreerde Hollandsche Afstammelingen gevestigd ten Noorden van de Vale rivier*." But it is significant that in November, 1853, Commandant Generaal M. W. Pretorius wrote: "*het publiek want wy niet Hollanders maar Africaan genoemd worde*." The Boers wished to be recognized as a distinct nationalist unit, as Afrikaners.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

## ARTICLES

- EVELYN CRADY ADAMS. The Imprisonment of British Officers in the Frankfort Penitentiary during the War of 1812. *Reg. Kentucky Hist. Soc.*, July, 1951.
- A. C. AITKEN. The History of Otago, New Zealand: A Centenary Retrospect. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- ALFRED OWEN ALDRIDGE. Shaftesbury and the Deist Manifesto. *Trans. Am. Philos. Soc.*, June, 1951.
- ROBERT J. ALEXANDER and WILLIAM SINGER. Canadian Investments in Latin America. *Inter-Am. Ec. Affairs*, June, 1951.
- VICTOR G. ALEXANDER. A Nineteenth Century Scandal [Patent Office]. *Public Administration*, Winter, 1950.
- E. L. ALLEN. Religious Thought in Great Britain, 1900-1950. *Religion in Life*, Spring, 1951.
- REINHOLD ARIS. Malta Today. *Contemp. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- W. H. G. ARMYTAGE. George Berkeley, Atlantean. *Queen's Quar.*, Spring, 1951.
- Id.* Precedents and Projects: Further Aspects of the Civic University Tradition in England, 1660-1731. *Universities Rev.*, May, 1951.
- Id.* The Editorial Experience of Joseph Gales, 1786-1794. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- W. ASHWORTH. British Industrial Villages in the Nineteenth Century. *Ec. History Rev.*, III, no. 3, 1951.
- C. T. ATKINSON. Gleanings from the Cathcart MSS. Part II—Marlborough's Campaigns of 1707-08. *Jour. Soc. for Army Hist. Research*, Summer, 1951.
- W. O. AYDELOTTE. Nineteenth Century British Pamphlets. *Newberry Lib. Bull.*, May, 1951.
- SYDNEY D. BAILEY. Parliament and the 1851 Exhibition. *Parliamentary Affairs*, IV, no. 3, 1951.
- E. W. M. BALFOUR-MELVILLE. The Union of 1707. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- T. BALOGH. Welfare and Freer Trade—A Reply. *Ec. Jour.* Apr., 1951.
- E. F. BEACH. L'Economica di Guerra del Canada. *Economia internazionale*, Feb., 1951.
- ARTHUR PETER BECKER. Housing in England and Wales during the Business Depression of the 1930's. *Ec. History Rev.*, III, no. 3, 1951.
- WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR. The Reverend Mr. Joseph Morgan, an American Correspondent of the Royal Society, 1732-1739. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCV, no. 3, 1951.
- Id.* Thomas Parke's Student Life in England and Scotland, 1771-1773. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July, 1951.
- T. A. BIRRELL. Roger North and Political Morality in the Later Stuart Period. *Scrutiny*, Mar., 1951.
- LESLIE BISHOP. Anglo-Canadian Trade and the Wheat Contract. *Fortnightly*, July, 1951.
- WILLIAM BLACKBURN. Lady Magdalen Herbert and Her Son George. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July, 1951.



- WILFRID BLUNT. Flowers from Abroad. *History Today*, June, 1951.
- C. R. BOXER. English Shipping in the Brazil Trade, 1640-65. *Mariner's Mirror*, July, 1951.
- D. K. BRITTON and K. E. HUNT. The Agricultural Statistics of the United Kingdom. *Jour. Royal Statistical Soc.*, CXIV, Part I, 1951.
- HARRY GUNNISON BROWN. A Dilemma of Contemporary Keynesism. *Am. Jour. Economics and Sociol.*, Apr., 1951.
- K. BUCKLEY. The Fixing of Rents by Agreement in Co. Galway, 1881-5. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Mar., 1951.
- A. H. BURNE. English Battlefields. *Quar. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- J. H. BURNS. The Political Ideas of George Buchanan. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- ADRIAN BURY. Albury Park. The "Darling Villa" of Many Generations. *Connoisseur*, May, 1951.
- JOHN BUTT. A Plea for More English Dictionaries. *Durham Univ. Jour.*, June, 1951.
- K. CALLARD. The Present System of Local Government in Canada: Some Problems of Status, Area, Population, and Resources. *Can. Jour. Economics and Pol. Sci.*, May, 1951.
- CARROLL CAMDEN. The Elizabethan Imogen. *Rice Inst. Pamphlet*, Apr., 1951.
- J. M. S. CARELESS. History and Canadian Unity. *Culture*, June, 1951.
- W. H. CHALONER. John Wilkinson, Ironmaster. *History Today*, May, 1951.
- ALLEN G. CHESTER. Robert Barnes and the Burning of the Books. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1951.
- R. N. CHOWDHURI. Anglo-Russian Commercial Rivalry in 1812 A.D. *Jour. Indian Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- G. S. R. KITSON CLARK. The Electorate and the Repeal of the Corn Laws. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Ser., I, 1951.
- GRAHAME CLARK. Excavations at the Mesolithic Site of Star Carr, Yorkshire, 1949-1950. *Archaeology*, June, 1951.
- SEÁN Ó COINDEALBHÁIN. The United Irishmen in Cork County. IV. *Jour. Cork Hist. and Archaeol. Soc.*, July-Dec., 1950.
- B. G. COLLINS. George MacDonald. *Baptist Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- JOHN T. COLLINS. Donogh Moyle McCarthy of Phale. *Jour. Cork Hist. and Archaeol. Soc.*, July-Dec., 1950.
- EDWIN G. CONKLIN. Letters of Charles Darwin and Other Scientists and Philosophers to Sir Charles Lyell, Bart. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCV, no. 3, 1951.
- G. CONNELL-SMITH. The Ledger of Thomas Howell. *Ec. History Rev.*, III, no. 3, 1951.
- ALBERT COLBY COOKE. An Eminent and Unconventional Victorian: Mary Henrietta Kingsley, 1862-1900. *Univ. of Toronto Quar.*, July, 1951.
- DOUGLAS B. COPLAND. Australia and International Economic Equilibrium. *Economia internazionale*, Feb., 1951.
- SIR JOHN CRAIG. Whitehall through the Centuries. *Public Administration*, Winter, 1950.
- D. W. CROWLEY. An Outline History of the New Zealand Labour Movement, 1894-1913. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, May, 1951.
- Id. A Critical Bibliography of the History of the New Zealand Labour Movement. *Ibid.*
- LIONEL CURTIS. The 'Fifties as Seen Fifty Years Hence. *Internat. Affairs*, July, 1951.
- R. J. CYRIAX. Recently Discovered Traces of the Franklin Expedition. *Geog. Jour.*, June, 1951.
- DANIEL DAVIES. The Rhonddas in the 'Eighties. *Quar. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- GODFREY DAVIES. Letters on the Administration of James II's Army. *Jour. Soc. for Army Hist. Research*, Summer, 1951.
- Id. The Fall of Harley in 1708. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- MARGARET DEAN-SMITH. The Preservation of English Folk Song and Popular Music. *Jour. Eng. Folk Dance and Song Soc.*, Dec., 1950.
- FAUSTINE DENNIS. American Council of Learned Societies, British Manuscript Project. *Am. Documentation*, Aug., 1950.
- RICHARD H. DILLON. Letters of Captain George Dixon in the Banks Collection. *British Columbia Hist. Quar.*, July, 1950.
- EUGENE P. DVORIN. The Theory of Apartheid: Nationalist Racial Policy in the Union of South Africa. *Western Pol. Quar.*, Mar., 1951.
- W. A. EBSWORTH. Gibraltar and Its Problems. *Quar. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.

- MALDWYN L. EDWARDS. The Church and the Rise of Socialism. *London Quar. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- MAURICE EVANS. Elizabethan Spoken English. *Cambridge Jour.*, Apr., 1951.
- A. N. FAIRBAIRN. The Grand Tour. *Geog. Mag.*, July, 1951.
- DUNCAN FORBES. Historicism in England. *Cambridge Jour.*, Apr., 1951.
- W. FRIEDMANN. Australian Foreign Policy. *Internat. Affairs*, July, 1951.
- NORMAN GASH. Peel and the Party System. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Ser., I, 1951.
- C. W. M. GELL. The Indians in South Africa. *Fortnightly*, July, 1951.
- W. E. GREENING. Is the French-Canadian Attitude towards Immigration Changing? *Dalhousie Rev.*, Spring, 1951.
- A. G. GRIMWADE. A New List of Old English Gold Plate, Part I: Seventeenth Century. *Connoisseur*, May, 1951.
- W. L. GUTTSMAN. The Changing Social Structure of the British Political Elite, 1886-1935. *British Jour. Sociol.*, June, 1951.
- H. P. HAMILTON. Sir Warren Fisher and the Public Service. *Public Administration*, Spring, 1951.
- WILLIAM B. HAMILTON. Churchill: Actor as Historian. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July, 1951.
- A. H. HANSON. Parliamentary Questions on the Nationalized Industries. *Public Administration*, Spring, 1951.
- GEOFFREY HARMSWORTH. The Palace of Glass, a Souvenir of 1851. *Connoisseur*, May, 1951.
- H. L. HARRIS. Education in Australia since Federation. *Australian Quar.*, Mar., 1951.
- B. H. LIDDELL HART. Have Armoured Forces a Future? *Armor*, May-June, 1951.
- ALLAN F. HATTERSLEY. The Natal Society, 1851-1951. *Quar. Bull. South African Lib.*, Mar., 1951.
- DENYS HAY. The Historiographers Royal in England and Scotland. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- H. C. K. HENDERSON. The 1801 Crop Returns for Wiltshire. *Wiltshire Archaeol. and Natural Hist. Mag.*, June, 1951.
- ALFRED T. HILL. The Emergency Training Scheme for Teachers in England. *Educ. Rec.*, Apr., 1951.
- T. W. HILL. Dickens and the 1851 Exhibition. *Dickensian*, June, 1951.
- F. H. HINSLEY. Mr. Churchill's *The Second World War*. *Cambridge Jour.*, Apr., 1951.
- E. J. HOBSBAWM. The Tramping Artisan. *Ec. History Rev.*, III, no. 3, 1951.
- J. E. HODGETTS. The Public Corporation in Canada. *Public Administration*, Winter, 1950.
- ROBERT E. HOLLAND. The Commonwealth Today. *Dalhousie Rev.*, Spring, 1951.
- W. G. HOSKINS. The Leicestershire Farmer in the Seventeenth Century. *Agric. Hist.*, Jan., 1951.
- C. H. D. HOWARD. A Falsified Text—Two Versions of Timothy Healy's Views on the Irish Question. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, 1951.
- MICHAEL HOWARD. Macaulay. *History Today*, May, 1951.
- N. HOWARD-JONES. John Quincy, M.D. [d. 1722], Apothecary and Iatrophysical Writer. *Jour. Hist. Medicine and Allied Sci.*, Spring, 1951.
- HERBERT HOWARTH. Behind Winston Churchill's Grand Style. *Commentary*, June, 1951.
- J. L. J. HUGHES. The Dublin Fishery Company, 1818-1830. *Dublin Hist. Rec.*, May, 1951.
- MAURICE HUSSEY. Christian Conduct in Bunyan and Baxter. *Baptist Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- MARY C. HYDE. The History of the Johnson Papers. *Papers Bibliog. Soc. of America*, XLV, 2d quar., 1951.
- R. WARREN JAMES. The Life and Work of John Rae. *Can. Jour. Economics and Pol. Sci.*, May, 1951.
- B. L. C. JOHNSON. The Charcoal Iron Industry in the Early Eighteenth Century. *Geog. Jour.*, June, 1951.
- ARTHUR KEPPEL JONES. South Africa and the High Commission Territories. *Internat. Jour.*, Spring, 1951.
- EMRYS JONES. Some Aspects of the Study of Settlement in Britain. *Advancement of Sci.*, June, 1951.
- A. K. CARDINAL NEWMAN and His Forebears (Parts I, II). *Notes and Queries*, Apr. 14, May 26, 1951.
- K. L. KINSMAN. A Regional Analysis of British Import Prices. *Economica*, May, 1951.
- RUSSELL KIRK. St. Andrews: The Coziest University. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July, 1951.

- KENNETH KNOWLES. The Post-War Dock Strikes. *Pol. Quar.*, July-Sept., 1951.
- VLADIMIR DE KOROSTOVETZ. Canada Comes of Age. *Contemp. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- S. J. LANGLEY. The Wednesbury Tube Trade. *Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Jour.*, II, no. 2, 1950.
- E. P. LAWRENCE. [Henry] George's Remedies for Britain's Land Problems. *Am. Jour. Economics and Sociol.*, July, 1951.
- Id.* Henry George's Oxford Speech. *California Hist. Soc. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- NATHANIEL LAWRENCE. Locke and Whitehead on Individual Entities. *Rev. of Metaphysics*, Dec., 1950.
- G. H. L. LEMAY. The Ministerial Crisis of 1851. *History Today*, June, 1951.
- J. H. LENFANT. Great Britain's Capital Formation, 1865-1914. *Economica*, May, 1951.
- R. A. LEWIS. Edwin Chadwick and the Administrative Reform Movement, 1854-6. *Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Jour.*, II, no. 2, 1950.
- A. J. LILBURN. The Family of Lilburn of West Lilburn. *Proc. Soc. of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne*, XI, no. 10, 1950.
- COLIN RHYS LOVELL. Antecedents of British Labor Government Policies. *Historian*, Spring, 1951.
- F. S. L. LYONS. The Irish Parliamentary Party and the Liberals in Mid-Ulster, 1894. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, 1951.
- W. S. MACNUTT. New Brunswick's Age of Harmony: The Administration of Sir John Harvey. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- A. G. H. MACPHERSON. Old Maritime Prints. *Mariner's Mirror*, Apr., 1951.
- VIOLET MARKHAM. Robert Morant: Some Personal Reminiscences. *Public Administration*, Winter, 1950.
- D. J. McDOUGALL. Canada and Commonwealth Affairs. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- ROBERT F. McRAE. Hume as a Political Philosopher. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1951.
- HILARY P. MEAD. Description of Royal and Signal Colours, etc. (1702 to 1837). *Mariner's Mirror*, Apr., 1951.
- RONALD L. MEEK. Physiocracy and Classicism in Britain. *Ec. Jour.*, Apr., 1951.
- B. N. MEHTA. A Little Known Event in the History of Travancore: The Quilon Plot. *Jour. Indian Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- HENRY W. MEIKLE. Bain Whyt and the Edinburgh Volunteers. *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- R. D. MIDDLETON. Tract Ninety [Newman]. *Jour. Eccles. Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- FRANK MILLIGAN. Ministerial Control of the British Nationalized Industries. *Can. Jour. Economics and Pol. Sci.*, May, 1951.
- DOREEN J. MILNE. The Results of the Rye House Plot and Their Influence upon the Revolution of 1688. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Ser., I, 1951.
- W. E. MINCHINTON. The Voyage of the Snow *Africa*. *Mariner's Mirror*, July, 1951.
- JOHN ROBERT MOORE. Defoe's "Lost" Letter to a Dissenter. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1951.
- DEWI MORGAN. The S.P.G., 1701-1951. [Society for the Propagation of the Gospel]. *Quar. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- A. H. MORRIS. Echuca and the Murray River. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, May, 1951.
- ERNEST CAMPBELL MOSSNER. The First Answer to Hume's Treatise: An Unnoticed Item of 1740. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1951.
- C. L. MOWAT. The History of the Labour Party: The Coles, the Webbs, and Some Others. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June, 1951.
- HERMAN J. MULLER. Trade Interests of XVIII Century British Travel Writers. *Mid-America*, July, 1951.
- S. NAMASIVAYAM. Some Thoughts on the Present Constitution of Ceylon. *Parliamentary Affairs*, IV, no. 3, 1951.
- GWENDOLYN B. NEEDHAM. Mrs. Manley: An Eighteenth-Century Wife of Bath. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1951.
- FRANCIS NEILSON. The Corn Law Rhymes. *Am. Jour. Economics and Sociol.*, July, 1951.
- Id.* Locke's Essays on Property and Natural Law. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- J. F. NORTHEY. Recent Political Developments in New Zealand. *Internat. Jour.*, Spring, 1951.
- MICHAEL OAKESHOTT. The B.B.C. *Cambridge Jour.*, June, 1951.
- JEAN E. O'CONNOR. 1890—A Turning Point in Labour History. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, May, 1951.

- MABEL PALMER. Higher Education in Natal. *African Affairs: Jour. Royal African Soc.*, Apr., 1951.
- R. PARES. George III and the Politicians. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th Ser., I, 1951.
- OSCAR PARKES. Three Jacobean Warships: *Anne Royal*, *Red Lion*, and *Repulse*. *Mariner's Mirror*, Apr., 1951.
- THOMAS P. PEARDON. Bentham's Ideal Republic. *Can. Jour. Economics and Pol. Sci.*, May, 1951.
- R. A. PELHAM. The Application of Steam Power to the Wiltshire Textile Industry in the Early 19th Century. *Wiltshire Archaeol. and Natural Hist. Mag.*, June, 1951.
- Id. The West Midland Iron Industry and the American Market in the 18th Century. *Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Jour.*, II, no. 2, 1950.
- MARGERY PERHAM. The British Problem in Africa. *For. Affairs*, July, 1951.
- MAURICE POWICKE. University of Manchester, 1851-1951. *History Today*, May, 1951.
- M. F. LLOYD PRICHARD. The Decline of Norwich. *Ec. History Rev.*, III, no. 3, 1951.
- B. M. G. REARDON. Church Relations in England. *Quar. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- PIERRE RENOUVIN. La politique anglaise pendant la crise de Munich. *Rev. hist.*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- IRVING RIBNER. Ulpian Fulwell and the Court of High Commission. *Notes and Queries*, June 23, 1951.
- C. S. RICHARDS and J. C. LAIGHT. The South African Railways and the Newton Report. *South African Jour. of Economics*, Dec., 1950.
- CAROLINE ROBBINS. Library of Liberty—Assembled for Harvard College by Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn (Parts I, II). *Harvard Lib. Bull.*, Winter, Spring, 1951.
- ERIC ROBSON. Some Papers of Frederick Howard, Fifth Earl of Carlisle (1748-1825). *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, 1951.
- WILLIAM A. ROBSON. Bernard Shaw and *The Political Quarterly*. *Pol. Quar.*, July-Sept., 1951.
- C. R. N. ROUTH. The Great South African Trek. *History Today*, May, 1951.
- WALTER N. SAGE. Canada: The Neighbor to the North. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.
- CHARLES RICHARD SANDERS. Lytton Strachey as a Critic of Elizabethan Drama. *Philol. Quar.*, Jan., 1951.
- Id. Lytton Strachey's Conception of Biography. *PMLA*, June, 1951.
- JOHN TUPPER SAYWELL. The McInnes Incident. *British Columbia Hist. Quar.*, July, 1950.
- RICHARD M. SCAMMON. British By-elections, 1950. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT. British Foreign Policy, 1931-32. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June, 1951.
- SCHOLIAST. The Plight of the Learned Societies. *Twentieth Cent.*, May, 1951.
- R. J. B. SELLAR. Prestonpans. *Scotts Mag.*, July, 1951.
- FRANK J. SHEED. Catholic England: A Quarter Century Chronicle. *Thought*, Summer, 1951.
- C. G. F. SIMKIN. New Zealand and International Economic Equilibrium. *Economia internazionale*, Feb., 1951.
- OLIVER SIMON. To "The Fleuron." *Signature*, new ser., no. 13, 1951.
- WALTER M. SIMON. John Locke: Philosophy and Political Theory. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- J. G. SIMS. Land Owned by Catholics in Ireland in 1688. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Mar., 1951.
- ALAN RAE SMITH. A. F. Johnson: Historian of Printed Books. *Signature*, new ser., no. 13, 1951.
- C. T. SMITH. The Movement of Population in England and Wales in 1851 and 1861. *Geog. Jour.*, June, 1951.
- LEO F. SOLT. John Saltmarsh: New Model Army Chaplain. *Jour. Eccles. Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- ALLEN B. SOUTHWICK. The Molasses Act—Source of Precedents. *William and Mary Quar.*, July, 1951.
- J. D. SPINNEY. Misadventures of a Slaver. *Blackwood's Mag.*, July, 1951.
- C. P. STACEY. Commodore Chauncey's Attack on Kingston Harbour, November 10, 1812. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- A. C. STAPLES. The Harvey: A Study of a Small Rural District [Australia]. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, May, 1951.
- LAWRENCE STONE. The Political Programme of Thomas Cromwell. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, 1951.
- R. N. STROMBERG. History in the Eighteenth Century. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1951.
- TRAVIS L. SUMMERSGILL. The Influence of the Marprelate Controversy upon the Style of Thomas Nashe. *Stud. Philol.*, Apr., 1951.

- HENRY SWANZY. Quarterly Notes. *African Affairs*, Apr., 1951.
- R. W. SYMONDS. English Cane Chairs, Part II. *Connoisseur*, May, 1951.
- W. E. TATE. Oxfordshire Enclosure Commissioners, 1737-1856. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June, 1951.
- E. G. R. TAYLOR. Instructions to a Colonial Surveyor in 1582. *Mariner's Mirror*, Jan., 1951.
- ROBERT J. TAYLOR. Israel Mauduit [1708-87; Tory]. *New Eng. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- D. F. S. THOMSON. George Buchanan: The Humanist in the Sixteenth-Century World. *Phoenix*, IV, no. 3, 1950.
- FREDERICK B. TOLLES. The Transatlantic Quaker Community in the Seventeenth Century. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1951.
- MARGARET R. TOYNBEE. More Light on Susanna, Lady Bellasyse. *Notes and Queries*, June 9, 1951.
- H. R. TREVOR-ROPER. The Elizabethan Aristocracy, an Anatomy Anatomized. *Ec. History Rev.*, III, no. 3, 1951.
- FRANCIS TWEEDIE. The Era of Shipbuilding at Annan. *Mariner's Mirror*, Apr., 1951.
- ABBOTT PAYSON USHER. Sir John Howard Clapham and the Empirical Reaction in Economic History. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Spring, 1951.
- SHELDEN VAN AUKEN. Proude: A Collision of Principles. *History Today*, July, 1951.
- A. P. WADSWORTH. The First Manchester Sunday Schools. *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, Mar., 1951.
- DORSEY E. WALKER. Some Realistic Aspects of the Progress of Jamaica, 1895-1947. *Jour. Negro Educ.*, Spring, 1951.
- J. WALKER. The Censorship of the Press during the Reign of Charles II. *History*, Oct., 1950.
- T. J. WALSH. Francis Moylan, Bishop of Cork. *Jour. Cork Hist. and Archaeol. Soc.*, July-Dec., 1950.
- NORMAN WARD. Early Electioneering in Canada. *Dalhousie Rev.*, Spring, 1951.
- HENRY J. WEBB. Two Additions to the Military Bibliography of Thomas Digges. *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- R. B. WEENHAM. Queen Elizabeth and the Portugal Expedition of 1589, Part II. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- GEORGE W. WHITING. *Samson Agonistes* and the Geneva Bible. *Rice Inst. Pamphlet*, Apr., 1951.
- BARBARA WHITTINGHAM-JONES. Parliament and Asia. *Quar. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- HENRY R. WINKLER. British Labor and the Origins of the Idea of Colonial Trusteeship, 1914-1919. *Historian*, Spring, 1951.
- T. ROY WOODHOUSE. The Birth of the Town of Dundas. *Ontario Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- AUSTIN WRIGHT. Victorian Bibliography for 1950. *Mod. Philol.*, May, 1951.
- G. KENT WRIGHT. Bunyan as a Man of Letters. *London Quar. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- ADA ZEMACH. Alexis de Tocqueville on England. *Rev. Politics*, July, 1951.

## FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop<sup>1</sup>

THE ESTATES GENERAL OF 1560. By J. Russell Major. [Princeton Studies in History, Volume VI.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. viii, 146, \$2.50.) In this monographic study Dr. Major has shed light on many details concerning electoral and convocational procedures of the Estates General in France under the Old Regime. Measured by conventional standards of research, the work is beyond criticism. It reveals, nevertheless, what frequently happens when the scholar trained to examine the tree attempts to describe the forest. According to the prospectus on the jacket the purpose of the author is to answer the question why national representative government failed to develop in France "by a careful analysis of a single meeting of the Estates General." The author himself is more modest for he states, "one should not hope to find a conclusive answer from the study of a single meeting" (p. 115). Despite this expressed restraint, Dr. Major challenges somewhat reck-

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

lessly the views of former French constitutional historians who have argued that the Estates General failed because the three orders were seldom able to agree and because the French kings could not adapt the institution to the principles and policies of paternalistic autocracy. Professor Major emphasizes the generally recognized opinion that French kings encouraged the Estates General as a counterweight against provincialism but contends further that the institution "was the creation of the monarch and *became one of his most effective tools*" (p. 10, italics mine). A few pages later the statement is made that the crown was unable to convoke a "complete" Estates General until 1484 at which time the assembly criticized rather than supported the administration with the result that "the French kings for the next seventy-five years seem to have regarded the Estates General as being useless and at worst a threat to royal authority" (p. 14). In 1560 the Estates General which serves as the central subject of the author's work "refused to make any important concessions to the crown and hence were rarely convoked thereafter" (p. 114). On those subsequent rare occasions, 1576, 1589, 1593, 1614, and 1789, the altercations between the Estates General and the respective kings were even more pronounced. The question which bedevils Professor Major's hypotheses is precisely *when* did the institution become one of the monarch's *most effective tools*? There are answers to the question why representative government failed to develop in France as it did in England, but it is the opinion of this critic that the author has not found them and is, in fact, farther from them than were some of the historians whose views he opposes. The study is an excellent and valuable piece of descriptive research, but it appears limited in insight.

OWEN ULPH, *University of Nevada*

MORELLY: CODE DE LA NATURE, OU LE VÉRITABLE ESPRIT DE SES LOIS, 1755. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by *Gilbert Chinard*. (Paris, Raymond Clavreuil, 1950, pp. 335.) What we are offered here is really a pair of books, Morelly's *Code de la Nature* (last published in 1910) and Professor Chinard's scholarly introduction. Both make it clear that the eighteenth-century utopian socialist deserves more serious attention than he has generally been given. Morelly of course speaks for himself, without much style, except for the fine title, but with fervent expression of an interrelated set of ideas about religion, psychology, moral standards, society, education, and politics. See, for example, his refutation of the utility and inevitability of social stratification (pp. 189 ff., 231-33), his denial of Montesquieu's assertions concerning the stability of various forms of government (pp. 225-30), his clear statement of the eighteenth-century faith in a natural moral order (p. 184 n.), or his advanced definitions of liberty (pp. 219-21) and progress (pp. 251-52). Part IV of Morelly's book describes in detail his communistic utopia, drawn in large part, as Professor Chinard tells us, from Thomas More and from Garcilasso de la Vega's *Histoire des Incas*. To the student of the history of ideas, however, the preceding sections are perhaps more interesting, for they contain all the steps of the author's argument, from his deistic religious premise (pp. 282-83) through his psychology (pp. 164 ff.) and onward to his contract theory of government (pp. 233-36) and to the other views already mentioned. Professor Chinard's introduction, 146 pages in length, is more than its title indicates, for in addition to a study of Morelly's seven most important publications it sketches the history of the author's reputation from the eighteenth century to the qualified recognition granted him today by Soviet theorists. Professor Chinard does not claim to have dealt with all the influences of others on Morelly or of Morelly on others, but the reader will not fail to see the



place of the *Code de la Nature* as a landmark in the history of socialism, or its author's relation to the other *philosophes* of the Enlightenment.

PAUL H. BEIK, *Swarthmore College*

ARTICLES

- JEAN HALPÉRIN. Les transformations économiques aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. II. *Rev. d'hist. éc. et soc.*, no. 2, 1950.
- CONSTANTIN MARINESCO. Jacques Coeur et ses affaires aragonaises, catalanes et napolitaines. *Rev. hist.*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- [Articles on Descartes.] *Rev. des sciences humaines*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.
- FERNAND BRAUDEL. L'économie française au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Annales*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.
- JEAN LECLANT. Le café et les cafés à Paris (1644-93). *Ibid.*
- MICHEL CHEVALIER. France rurale: en Haut-Couserans. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES CADÉOT. L'évolution du métayage dans le Lectourois du XVIII<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Bull. Soc. archéol., hist., litt., et sci. du Gers*, 1st quar., 1951.
- DR. MERLE. La crise de subsistances à Niort à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Bull. Soc. antiquaires de l'Ouest*, no. 1, 1951.
- JEAN DES CILLEULS. Les médecins aux armées de l'ancien régime. *Rev. hist. de l'armée*, Dec., 1950.
- [Articles on Diderot.] *Cahiers Haut-Marnais*, no. 1, 1951.
- ALFRED COBBAN. New Light on the Political Thought of Rousseau. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- G. P. GOOCH. Four French Salons: I, Mme. Geoffrin, II, Mme. Du Deffand. *Contemp. Rev.*, June, July, 1951.
- ROBERT LACOUR-GAYET. Calonne en Italie et en Autriche (1790-91). *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, 1949.
- OCTAVE FESTY. L'agriculture pendant la Révolution française. *Rev. d'hist. éc. et soc.*, no. 2, 1950.
- SHELBY T. McCLOY. The Race Question in Late Eighteenth-Century France. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July, 1951.
- M. MONACO. Siéyès e la formazione della sua personalità politica. *Nuova riv. stor.*, May-Aug., 1950.
- G. BRÉGAIL. L'enseignement primaire dans le département du Gers sous la Révolution. *Bull. Soc. archéol., hist., litt., et sci. du Gers*, 2d quar., 1951.
- RICHARD M. BRACE. General Dumouriez and the Girondins, 1792-93. *AHR*, Apr., 1951.
- ALFRED COBBAN. An Age of Revolutionary Wars: An Historical Parallel. *Rev. Politics*, Apr., 1951.
- JOSEPH BONNAFE. Le premier tour du monde par le drapeau tricolore. *Provence hist.*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.
- R. KOEBNER. The Authenticity of the Letters on the *Esprit des Lois* Attributed to Helvétius. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, May, 1951.
- F. DORNIC. Un problème mal posé: Le massacre de MM. Cureau et de Montesson à Ballon (Sarthe), le 23 juillet, 1789. *Ann. hist. de la Révolution française*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- R. COBB. Trois témoignages sur les massacres de septembre. *Ibid.*
- Id.* Les impressions d'un prisonnier français en Angleterre (août-sept., 1793). *Ibid.*
- R. BOUIS. Les étapes de la réaction modérée en Loir et Cher. *Ibid.*
- RENÉ BAEHREL. Epidémie et terreur: Histoire de sociologie. *Ibid.*
- DANIEL LIGOU. Marxisme et étude de la Révolution française. *Rev. socialiste*, June, 1951.
- MARCEL CORNU. Le "vandalisme révolutionnaire." *La pensée*, July-Aug., 1951.
- GEORGES LEFEBVRE. La Révolution et l'Empire, II [Bibliographical article]. *Rev. hist.*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- P. LEFRANC. Regards sur l'administration d'autrefois (la question des traitements des fonctionnaires de l'an II à l'an VI). *Bull. Soc. antiquaires de l'Ouest*, no. 1, 1951.
- H. JANEAU. La Revellière-Lépeaux. *Ibid.*
- RAFFAELE BELVEDERI. La deputazione ferrarese a Parigi presso il Direttorio (1796-97). *Nuova riv. stor.*, Sept.-Dec., 1950.
- BERNARD NABONNE. Le mémoire justificatif de Reubell, membre du Directoire. *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, 1949.

- H. HILL. A propos de la Constitution du Valais. *Ann. hist. de la Révolution française*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- HENRI DROUOT. Migrations saisonnières au temps du Premier Empire. *Ann. de Bourgogne*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.
- J. VIDALENC. Les comptoirs français du Sénégal vers 1808. *Ann. hist. de la Révolution française*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- EMILIEN TRAVER. Un préfet de Napoléon: Claude Dupin. *Rev. polit. et parl.*, June, 1951.
- JOHN HALL STEWART. The Norton Napoleon Collection [Bibliographical article]. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June, 1951.
- L.-J. ARRIGON. Une intrigue politique sous Louis-Philippe. *La revue*, Apr. 15, May 1, 1951.
- C. LECOMPT. Trois fraternelles de la région lilloise en 1848. *Rev. des révol. cont.*, May, 1951.
- BENEDETTO GIOIA-MACCHIORO. Louis Blanc e la rivoluzione de febbraio. *Nuova riv. stor.*, Sept.-Dec., 1950.
- ABEL CHATELAIN. Les migrants temporaires et la propagation des idées révolutionnaires en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Rév. des révol. cont.*, May, 1951.
- SELVO MASTELLONE. L'escadre française et les événements révolutionnaires du 15 mai 1848 à Naples. *Ibid.*
- A. FORTIN. Les sociétés de secours mutuels dans le Pas de Calais sous le Second Empire. *Rev. du Nord*, Sept.-Dec., 1950.
- [Three articles on the eightieth anniversary of the Commune.] *Rev. des révol. cont.*, May, 1951.
- SAMUEL BERNSTEIN. American Labor and the Paris Commune. *Sci. and Soc.*, Spring, 1951.
- RENÉ DOLLOT. Un ambassadeur de la France sous la Troisième République: Albert Decrais (1838-1915). *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, Jan.-June, July-Dec., 1949.
- G. S. PESMAZOGLU. Quelques aspects internationaux des fluctuations cycliques en France de 1880 à 1913. *Rev. d'économie polit.*, Jan.-Feb., 1951.
- ANDRÉ SAUVAGEOT. Le rôle électoral des préfets [19th century]. *Rev. polit. et parl.*, Apr., 1951.
- ALBERT MILHAUD. Actualité et centenaire de Léon Bourgeois. *Ibid.*
- ALEXANDRE ZEVAES. Clemenceau et Jaurès. *Ibid.*, June, 1951.
- [Articles on Armistice of June, 1940.] *Rev. d'hist. de la deuxième guerre mondiale*, June, 1951.
- [Articles on French Resistance.] *Ibid.*, Nov., 1950.
- JEAN MICHEL. Les conventions fiscales franco-américaines des 25 juillet, 1939 et 18 octobre, 1946. *Jour. du droit internat.*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.
- BORIS MIRKINE-GUETZÉVITCH. Le régime parlementaire dans les récentes constitutions européennes. *Rev. internat. de droit comparé*, Oct.-Dec., 1950.
- JACQUES CAILLÉ. La représentation diplomatique de la France en Maroc. *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, July-Dec., 1949.
- J. FRANKEL. The Background in French Indo-China. *World Affairs*, Jan., 1951.
- MICHEL-HENRY FABRE. Un échec constitutionnel: l'investiture du président du conseil des ministres. *Rev. du droit public*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.
- ALFRED POSE. Gouverner la France. *La revue*, July 1, 1951.
- PHILIPPE LUC-VERBON. Lois électorales, partis et composition des assemblées. *Rev. socialiste*, May, 1951.
- P. COULBOIS. L'évolution depuis la réforme fiscale. *Rev. de sci. et de légis. finan.*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- P.R. Quelques aspects constitutionnels du Plan Schuman. *Rev. du droit public*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.
- Résultats financiers de l'application de la législation de sécurité sociale en France pour l'année 1949. *Rev. internat. du travail*, Apr., 1951.
- JEAN COMPEYROT. La crise de l'épargne et de la bourse. *Rev. polit. et parl.*, Apr., May, June, 1951.
- JEAN DE COUDIER. La stratégie française du pétrole: pétrole arabe et pétrole vénézuélien. *Rev. de défense nationale*, June, 1951.
- LÉON BÉRARD. Loi électorale et constitution. *La revue*, May 15, 1951.
- W. L. MIDDLETON. France before the Election. *Contemp. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- BARBARA B. CARTER. Franco-Italian Relations. *Ibid.*
- ERNEST HILDESHEIMER. Chronique bibliographique. Travaux parus sur le département des Alpes-maritimes, au cours des dernières années. *Provence hist.*, Oct.-Dec., 1950.
- Portrait de Paris (VII-X). *La revue*, Mar. 15, Apr. 1, 15, May 1, 15, 1951.

## DOCUMENTS

- MARTIN BUCER. Résumé sommaire de la Doctrine chrétienne, 1548 [ed. F. Wendel]: Correspondance entre les frères tchèques et Bucer 1540 à 1542 [ed. A. Molnar]. *Rev. d'hist. et de philos. religieuse*, no. 1, 1951.
- Colonel GIRARD. Souvenirs d'un soldat de l'ancien régime [ed. Paul Desachy]. *Rev. de Paris*, July, 1951.
- FLEURIOT DE LANGLE. Le portefeuille Fouché-Talleyrand. *La revue*, May 15, 1951.
- AUGUSTE DUPONY. L'exhumation de Napoleon racontée par son principal témoin. *Rev. de défense nationale*, May, 1951.
- FERNAND BALDENSBERGER. Georges Clemenceau dans la retraite. Souvenirs et documents inédits. *Rev. de défense nationale*, Apr., 1951.
- Tableau des principaux textes relatifs au contrôle des relations financières franco-étrangères publiés entre le 1<sup>e</sup> septembre, 1949 et le 12<sup>e</sup> janvier, 1951. *Jour. du droit internat.*, Oct.-Dec., 1950.
- Relations entre la France et la Sarre. *Ibid.*, Jan.-Mar., 1951.

## THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

LES ORIGINES DU CATHOLICISME LIBÉRAL EN BELGIQUE (1789-1839). By *Henri Haag*. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3<sup>e</sup> série, fascicule 36.] (Louvain, E. Nauwelaerts, 1950, pp. 300, 175 fr.) The union of Catholics and Liberals in 1828 has long been recognized as an important link in the chain of events leading up to the Belgian revolution of 1830. As an example of the acceptance in practice, if not in principle, by a clerical party of such fundamentals of modern political democracy as the separation of church and state and freedom of education and the press, the Liberal-Catholic coalition of 1828 has additional significance for the history of the adjustment of the Roman Catholic Church, long allied with the forces of reaction, to the increasingly democratic temper of the nineteenth century. It is with this aspect of the union and especially with its ideological implications for Roman Catholicism that Dr. Haag is concerned in his study of the origins of liberal Catholicism in Belgium. The book opens with a discussion of the political and social doctrine of the Belgian Catholics and their dependence upon such non-Belgian exponents of traditionalism and ultramontanism as Burke, De Bonald, De Maistre, and Lamennais. Next the author traces the history of the idea of Liberal-Catholic co-operation from the first unsuccessful appeal by the Catholic baron De Gerlache before the lower house of the States General in 1825 to the consummation of the union in 1828. Dr. Haag emphasizes the opportunistic character of this coalition, in which neither side meant to sacrifice any of its basic principles. Subsequent chapters deal with the part played by the clerical element in framing the Belgian constitution of 1831 and the struggle of left-wing Catholics against the reactionary policies of King Leopold I and Pope Gregory XVI. Throughout the book the relationship of the Belgian Catholics with Lamennais and Rome is discussed in considerable detail. The author concludes that practical considerations rather than the ideas of Lamennais or any other writer guided the political actions of the Belgian Catholics throughout this period. This conclusion, while probably correct, seems inconsistent with the author's earlier preoccupation with matters of doctrine and principle, and suggests that a more sociological and less strictly ideological approach to the subject might have been more appropriate. It is difficult to see, for instance, why it should have been necessary to devote two whole chapters to a discussion of the

influence of traditionalist and ultramontane philosophy on the Belgian Catholics if their "liberalism" sprang mainly from a recognition that the interests of the church in Belgium demanded an adjustment to the realities of the local political situation. Neither is the argument altogether convincing that because of its opportunistic character this liberalism of the Belgian Catholics is entirely consistent with their acceptance of the teachings of men like De Bonald and De Maistre, whose names one would hardly associate with liberalism except in the most negative sense. The book contains, furthermore, certain defects of organization which are likely to confuse the general reader who is not already thoroughly familiar with the subject. For instance, not until page 202 does the author give a clear definition of the terms "unionism" and "liberal Catholicism," as he understands them. Although he condemns the use of the term "unionism" when applied to the period after 1830, Dr. Haag himself discusses events of the years 1831-33 under the heading "L'Unionisme." In spite of such weaknesses in argumentation and organization, Dr. Haag's study will undoubtedly be welcomed by students of church history as well as by anyone interested in the intellectual history of the early nineteenth century. The book is obviously the result of painstaking research among the written records of the period, many of which had thus far remained unexplored. The book is also well written. These two qualities and the importance of the subject combine to give it an uncommon interest. B. H. W.

## ARTICLES

- EDOUARD DE MOREAU. La participation des abbayes belges aux travaux publics sous les règnes de Marie-Thérèse et de Joseph II. *Acad. Roy. Belgique, Bull. cl. lett.*, 5th ser., XXXVI, 1950.
- FERNAND LEMAIRE. Le procès et l'exécution du protestant liégeois Thomas Watlet (1562). *Acad. Roy. Belgique, Bull. Comm. Roy. d'Hist.*, CXV, no. 3, 1950.
- E. HELIN. Vingt-quatre manuscrits intéressants l'histoire liégeoise conservés à la Bibliothèque Royale de La Haye. *Annuaire d'hist. liégeoise*, IV, 1951.
- ALCESTE. Un fait d'armes spectaculaire au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le Siège d'Anvers. *L'armée, la nation*, V, no. 1, 1950.
- P. DE HAAN. Moelijkheden der Protestantse kerk van Antwerpen aangedaan in het begin der 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw. *Bull. Soc. d'hist. protestantisme belge*, Mar., 1951.
- A. L. E. VERHEYDEN. Notes au sujet de la Réforme en Flandre au 16<sup>me</sup> siècle. *Ibid.*
- F. PRIMIS. De Antwerpse "Raad van Justitie" van Alva tot Requesens (1571-1575). *Med. Kon. VI. Acad. van België, Kl. Lett.*, XII, no. 5, 1950.
- HENRY J. WEBB. Thomas Digges, an Elizabethan Combat Historian [failure of relief of Sluce, 1587]. *Military Affairs*, Summer, 1950.
- J. GESSLER. La noyade dans un tonneau d'après une dissertation allemande. *Rev. belge de philol. et d'hist.*, XXVIII, nos. 3-4, 1950.
- J. STENGERS. Sentiment national, sentiment organiste et sentiment français à l'aube de notre indépendance. *Ibid.*
- F. VERCAUTEREN. Note sur la survivance de la Hanse des XVII<sup>e</sup> villes du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Ibid.*
- A. SIMON. L'église et la constitution belge en 1864. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XLVI, nos. 1-2, 1951.
- E. BROUETTE. Notes sur l'économie rurale du Namurois au siècle de malheur, 1500-1648. *Rev. du Nord*, XXXII, 1950.
- LOUIS DE LICHTERVELDE. Un conseiller de Léopold I<sup>er</sup>: Le vicomte de Conway. *Rev. gén. belge*, May, 1951.
- Id.* Henry Carton de Wiart. *Ibid.*, June, 1951.
- L. TH. MAES. Travaux d'histoire du droit belges et néerlandais parus pendant la période 1939-1949. *Tijdschr. rechtsgesch.*, XVIII, 1950.
- EDUARD STIEBER. Ein Basler im Dienste der niederländisch-ostindischen Kompagnie in Indonesien: Die Reisebeschreibung Johann Heinrich Sulgers (1646-1699). Mit einem Anhang von Dr. Peter Buxtorf, Basel: Das Epitaph des J. H. Sulger. *Basler Zeitschr. f. Gesch. u. Altertumsk.*, 1950.

PH. A. SAMSON. Persdelicten in Suriname. *West Indische Gids*, Apr., 1951.

R. D. SIMONS. Zondagsrust en Zondagssluiting in Suriname. *Ibid.*

## DOCUMENTS

H. FEDERHOFER. Etats de la chapelle musicale de Charles V et de Maximilien. *Rev. belge de musicologie*, IV, no. 4, 1950.

## NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes

## ARTICLES

SVERRE KJELDSTADLI. Scandinavian Department University of Wisconsin 75 år. *Samtiden*, no. 3, 1951.

YRJÖ NURMIO. Valtionarkistomme perustamisajoilta [German summary, pp. 210-12: Aus den Gründungszeiten unseres Reichsarchivs]. *Historial. Arkisto*, LIII, 1950.

KRISTJÁN ELDJÁRN. Romans in Iceland. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, no. 2, 1951.

JERKER ROSÉN. Det kanoniska förbudet at avsöndra fast egendom. *Scandia*, no. 1, 1950.

SVEN TUNBERG. Folkungarna. *Sv. Tids.*, no. 4, 1951.

HJALMAR R. HOLAND. The Origin of the Kensington Inscription. *Scand. Stud.*, Feb., 1951.

SVEN ULRIC PALME. Till den statsrättsliga tolkningen av 1397 års acta. *Scandia*, no. 1, 1950.

GUNNAR OLSSON. Sverige och Danmark 1501-1508. *Ibid.*

CURT ROHTLIEB. Olavus Petris statsrättsliga idéer. *Statsvet. Tids.*, no. 1, 1951.

THORKELL JÓHANNESSON. Biskop Jón Arason. *Samtiden*, no. 4, 1951.

SVEN A. NILSSON. Reaktionen mot systemskiftet 1611: En linje i Gustav II Adolfs politik. *Scandia*, no. 1, 1950.

HALVDAN KOHT. Dei fyrste skandinaviske innflyttarane i Amerika. *Ibid.*

GUSTAF UTTERSTRÖM. Den svenska fattigdomens betydelse under 1700-talet [review article on E. F. Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa* (Stockholm, 1949)]. *Sv. Tids.*, no. 4, 1951.

GUNNAR OLANDER. Hemmansklyvningen i Skaraborgs län vid mitten av 1700-talet. *Scandia*, no. 1, 1950.

EINAR W. JUVA. Vuoden 1739 "kieliasetuksen" synty [German summary, p. 263: Die Entstehung der "Sprachverordnung" von 1739]. *Historial. Arkisto*, LIII, 1950.

AULIS J. ALANEN. Pohjanlahden vapaasta purjehduksesta 1766-1808. Antti Chydeniuksen elämänsaavutuksen tarkkailua [German summary, pp. 134-40: Über die freie Schifffart auf dem Bottnischen Meerbusen 1766-1808. Anders Chydenius und das wirtschaftliche Denken im 18. Jahrhundert]. *Ibid.*

OLLE GASSLANDER. [Review article on Sten Carlsson, *Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner 1700-1865* (Lund, Gleerup, 1949, pp. 368, kr. 12,00)]. *Statsvet. Tids.*, no. 1, 1951.

SVEN ERIKSSON. Norrmännen i egna och främmandes ögon före 1814. *Sv. Tids.*, no. 3, 1951.

EMIL SCHIECHE. Die skandinavische Geschichtsschreibung der Gegenwart und die grosse nordische Krise von 1808 bis 1814. *Welt als Geschichte*, Heft 4, 1950.

IAN GRIMBLE. Holland's Iceland Journal [1810]. *Norseman*, May-June, 1951.

EINO PURAMO. Itä-Suomen liikenekysymyksiä ennen Saimaan kanavan rakentamista [German summary, pp. 156-57: Verkehrsfragen Ostfinnlands]. *Historial. Arkisto*, LIII, 1950.

SVEN LINDMAN. En Helsingforsprofessors [Johan Jacob Nordström] Europaresa år 1841. *Ord och Bild*, no. 5, 1951.

W. R. MEAD. The Conquest of Finland [Crimean War relief work]. *Norseman*, Mar.-Apr., 1951.

F. A. RUSH. From Traveller to Tourist: Denmark in English Travel Books 1850-1950. *Ibid.*, May-June, 1951.

POUL HANSEN. "Corn Will Wave Where Heather Grows"; How Jutland Reclaimed Her Moors. *Dan. For. Office Jour.*, no. 1, 1951.

FREDRIK CHR. WILDHAGEN. Da Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson fikk Nobel-prisen. *Ord och Bild*, no. 5, 1951.

- N. C. M. ELDER. Parliamentary Role of Joint Standing Committees in Sweden. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- NILS NILSSON-STJERNQUIST. Dechargeinstitutet under 1940-talet. *Statsvet. Tids.*, no. 1, 1951.
- AUGUST SCHOU. Litt on "Samtiden" under okkupasjonen. *Samtiden*, no. 1, 1951.
- IVAR HANSTEEN-KNUDSEN. Nordiska krigsår i den eviga staden [World War II]. *Finsk Tids.*, Apr., 1951.
- SIR LAURENCE COLLIER. Reminiscences of a British Representative to Norway [World War II]. *Norseman*, Mar.-Apr., 1951.
- ALFRED JOACHIM FISCHER. The Aaland Islands. *Ibid.*, May-June, 1951.
- ELIS HÅSTAD. [Review article on Bruno Kalnins *De baltiska staternas frihetskamp* (Stockholm, Tiden, 1950, pp. 319)]. *Statsvet. Tids.*, no. 1, 1951.
- R. N. R. BROWN. Svalbard of Today. *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, Dec., 1950.
- United States and Denmark Sign Defense Agreement for Greenland. *Dept. State Bull.*, June 11, 1951.
- GEORGE SOLOVEYCHIK. Scandinavia Revisited. *Contemp. Rev.*, June, 1951.

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner<sup>1</sup>

LUTHER'S PROGRESS TO THE DIET OF WORMS, 1521. By Gordon Rupp. (Chicago, Wilcox and Follett, 1951, pp. 109, \$2.00.) Ernest Gordon Rupp is a Methodist minister and a professor of church history at Richmond College, a divinity school in the University of London. He is one of a number of promising young British scholars who are seeking solutions to the perplexing spiritual problems of our day by a study of the dynamic forces of the Reformation, the Catholic as well as the Protestant. Attracted a number of years ago to the study of Luther, in whose behalf he wrote the widely read defense, *Martin Luther: Hitler's Cause or Cure*, he came to the conclusion that the German Reformer had much to say that "may be of value for the healing of the nations" and "the mending of the Church" (p. 8). In his attempt to arrive at a better understanding of Luther, Rupp not only mastered much of the recent research concerned with the Reformer's early theological development but checked his findings with the primary sources. He presented the results of his studies first in a series of lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, England, and finally in this fascinating, well-written book. The author correctly concludes that one cannot understand Luther without recognizing that his primary concern was of a theological nature. Accordingly he analyzes the *via moderna* of the Nominalists which dominated the thinking of the theologians at the University of Erfurt, as well as Luther's objections to it. He follows this with a discussion of the Reformer's enthusiasm for the works of St. Augustine, the salutary influence of the *via antiqua* of Staupitz, and the encouragement gleaned from mysticism, especially that of the *devotio moderna*. Then he traces the development of Luther's own theological solutions from the "tower experience" to the Diet of Worms in 1521. He concludes with a brief epilogue in which he urges Reformation scholars to re-examine Luther's dependence upon medieval theology and expresses his belief that the Reformer would today welcome a "Reformation of Reformation" in which Catholic and Protestant churches would co-operate in meeting the crying needs of our century (p. 107).

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Ohio State University*

KAUFLEUTE ZU HAUS UND ÜBER SEE: HAMBURGISCHE ZEUGNISSE DES 17., 18., UND 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. Gesammelt und erläutert von Percy Ernst

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.



*Schramm*. Band I: DER VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN DER FORSCHUNGSSTELLE FÜR HAMBURGISCHE WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE E. V. (Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe, 1949, pp. 596.) "*Hamburg ist ein Compendium mundi. . . . Die Schifffahrt macht, dass Hamburg ist Klein-Spanien, Klein-Portugal, Klein-Frankreich, Klein-Engelland, Klein-Holland, Klein-Schweden, Klein-Dänemark und Norwegen.*" This rich collection of materials, some never before published, some printed but inaccessible, goes far to confirm the boast quoted above from seventeenth-century Pastor Schupp. The papers span three centuries, from the late sixteenth to the late nineteenth, ending with a survey of the commerce of Bremen and Hamburg from the Thirty Years' War to the formation of the German Empire in 1871. They begin in the sixteenth century with a broad introductory setting which explains the growth of Hamburg, aided by the shortsighted and destructive policy of Spain in Amsterdam. The extrusion of Protestant merchants and artisans therefrom sent many able families as refugees to Hamburg. The tension between Spain and England during the reign of Elizabeth hampered the Anglo-Netherlands trade and increased opportunities for the German city; the Merchant Adventurers were given ten-year privileges in Hamburg in 1567. The collection includes a wide variety of family letters, business correspondence, memoirs, balance sheets, and shipping tables; accounts of trading conditions in Spanish America, China, West and East Africa, and the South Seas. The documents chosen for presentation are enhanced in value by the brief and well-written introductions of Dr. Schramm, which place each group in its proper setting. The book gives valuable insight into the personalities, methods, and character of Hamburg's business and her world-wide trade. A few portraits, views, and facsimiles of documents add to the general interest; firm balance sheets and tax lists give detailed information; the *Personenregister* and the *Sachregister* enhance this source book's reference value.

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT, *Northwestern University*

DER JOSEPHINISMUS: QUELLEN ZU SEINER GESCHICHTE IN ÖSTERREICH, 1760-1790: AMTLICHE DOKUMENTE AUS DEM WIENER HAUS, HOF-, UND STAATSARCHIV. Volume I, URSPRUNG UND WESEN DES JOSEPHINISMUS, 1760-1769. By *Ferdinand Maass*. [Fontes rerum Austriacarum. Zweite Abteilung: Diplomataria et acta. 71. Band.] (Vienna, Verlag Herold for Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1951, pp. xxiii, 395, plates, \$4.50.) This seventy-first volume of the *Diplomataria et acta* makes its appearance eleven years after the publication of volume seventy in 1940. The latest publication confirms a welcome determination on the part of the editors to depart from their traditionally heavy emphasis in the series on the medieval period. The schedule henceforth calls for increasing attention to documents which may throw some light on a few of the many unsolved problems and unanswered questions in modern Austrian history. It seems appropriate, moreover, that the new trend should be strengthened with a volume on Josephinism. For during the past decade or so there have been great interest and activity in this field, with much controversy and several conflicting interpretations. The more the subject is studied, the farther back the origins of Josephinism seem to be pushed, and Dr. Maass's scholarly work adds force to this view. The author plans to cover the period from 1760 to 1790 in three volumes, each devoted to one decade of these thirty years. In an earlier publication on the origins of Josephinism, Dr. Maass compiled the official correspondence of Chancellor Kaunitz with Governor General Count Firmian of Lombardy. This work served as useful background for the more ambitious project now launched with the volume under review. The volume contains a brief but excellent foreword, which sum-

marizes the chief current interpretations of Josephinism, a 100-page documented essay on Prince Kaunitz' views and activities in the matter of church-state relations particularly in the province of Lombardy which was his especial concern in the 1760's, and the texts of 160 documents and letters, most of them written by or to Kaunitz. Dr. Maass shows convincingly how Kaunitz gradually came to the conclusion that church affairs not merely needed reform per se but should be made subordinate to the policy of the state; how he achieved such an arrangement in Lombardy; and how, by 1769, Maria Theresa crowned his efforts by laying the official groundwork for a similar development in other parts of the monarchy. The volume ends with a good index and with sixteen photostatic illustrations of documents referred to in the text.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM, *Wagner College*

## ARTICLES

- H. J. HÜFFER. Las relaciones hispanogermanas durante mil doscientos años. *Rev. estudios políticos*, no. 56, 1951.
- GUSTAV BOSSERT, JR. Michael Sattler's Trial and Martyrdom in 1527. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- H. G. ZIMMERMANN. Heinrich Bullingers schriftliche Arbeiten bis zum Jahre 1528. *Zwingliana*, no. 2, 1950.
- FRIEDRICH KREBS. Zur Geschichte der Mennoniten im Herzogtum Zweibrücken. *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Oberrheins*, no. 2, 1950.
- J. H. SCHOLTE. Der religiöse Hintergrund des Simplicissimus Teutsch. *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Altertum*, 1950.
- F. L. CARSTEN. The Resistance of Cleves and Mark to the Despotic Policy of the Great Elector. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- MAX BRAUBACH. Eine Wirtschaftsenquete am Rhein im 17. Jahrhundert. *Rhein. Vierteljahrsbl.*, 1948.
- HANS FRICK. Weinbau und landwirtschaftliche Verhältnisse an der Unterahr in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts. *Ann. Hist. Ver. f. d. Niederrhein*, 1949.
- MAX BRAUBACH. Kurfürst Joseph Clemens von Köln als Vermittler zwischen Versailles und Wien. *Ibid.*, 1948.
- MARTIN SCHMIDT. Das hallische Waisenhaus und England im 18. Jahrhundert. *Theolog. Zeitsch.*, Jan., 1951.
- BENNO VON WIESE. Schiller und die deutsche Tragödie des 19. Jahrhunderts. *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschr. f. Literaturwiss. u. Geistesgesch.*, no. 2, 1951.
- ERICH HELLER. Nietzsche and Goethe. *Cambridge Jour.*, July, 1951.
- RUDOLF PANNWITZ. Goethes und Jean Pauls Menschlichkeit. *Schweizer Rundsch.*, May, 1951.
- HANS KOHN. The Eve of German Nationalism (1789-1812). *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr., 1951.
- PETER VIERECK. New Views on Metternich. *Rev. Politics*, Apr., 1951.
- FRITZ FISCHER. Der deutsche Protestantismus und die Politik im 19. Jahrhundert. *Hist. Zeitschr.*, May, 1950.
- EDMUND SILBERNER. Moses Hess. *Hist. Judaica*, Apr., 1951.
- MANUEL GARCÍA PELAJO. Robert von Mohl y el nacimiento de las ciencias sociales. *Rev. estudios políticos*, no. 55, 1951.
- BERNHARD MÜHLHAN. Hannover und sein Ministerium Stüve im preussisch-österreichischen Spiel um das Dritte Deutschland. *Niedersächs. Jahrb. f. Landesgesch.*, 1950.
- ERICH EYCK. The Empress Frederick. *Quar. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- HELEN M. MUSTARD. Sören Kierkegaard in German Literary Periodicals, 1860-1930. *Germanic Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN. Friedrich Naumann: A Mirror of Wilhelminian Germany. *Rev. Politics*, July, 1951.
- JOHN L. SNELL. Benedict XV, Wilson, Michaelis, and German Socialism. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- PAUL KLUKE. Deutschland und Russland zwischen den Weltkriegen. *Hist. Zeitschr.*, May, 1950.

- ALFRED WERNER. Trotzky of the Nazi Party [Otto Strasser]. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, Jan., 1951.
- HOWARD BECKER. Max Weber, Assassination and German Guilt: An Interview with Marianne Weber. *Am. Jour. Ec. and Sociol.*, July, 1951.
- ANTHONY E. SOKOL. The Cruise of "Schiff 45." *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, May, 1951.
- MAGNE SKODVIN. Norges plass i Hitlers militære planar etter 7. juni 1940. *Hist. Tids.* (Nor.), no. 1, 1951.
- FRED CHARLES IKLÉ. The Effect of War Destruction upon the Ecology of Cities [Hamburg]. *Social Forces*, May, 1951.
- PAUL-EUGÈNE RIVOLLET. Problèmes d'Allemagne. *Monde français*, Jan., 1951.
- ROBERT D'HARCOURT. Positions d'Allemagne en face de Moscou. *Rev. de Paris*, June, 1951.
- ERNST REUTER. Germany and the Cold War. *Pol. Quar.*, Jan., 1951.
- CARLO SCHMID. Germany and Europe. *Internat. Affairs*, July, 1951.
- HARDY C. DILLARD. Western Germany and the West. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Summer, 1951.
- J. W. HILL. Local Government in Western Germany. *Pol. Quar.*, July, 1951.
- WILHELM CORNIDES. Die Neutralitätslehre des Nauheimer Kreises und der geistige Hintergrund des West-Ostgesprächs in Deutschland. *Europa-Archiv*, no. 12, 1950, no. 8, 1951.
- C. G. D. ONSLOW. West German Rearmament. *World Politics*, July, 1951.
- J. LANNER. Changes in the Structure of the German Banking System. *Economica*, May, 1951.
- MONROE KARASIK. Problems of Compensation and Restitution in Germany and Austria. *Law and Contemp. Problems*, Summer, 1951.
- GUSTAV VON SCHMOLLER. Die Revision des Besatzungsstatuts. *Europa-Archiv*, no. 9, 1951.
- JANE PERRY CLARK CAREY. Political Organization of the Refugees and Expellees in West Germany. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER. Towards a Fourth Reich? The History of National Bolshevism in Germany. *Rev. Politics*, Apr., 1951.
- EUGEN KOOGON. Die Wiederkehr des Nationalsozialismus. *Frankfurter Hefte*, June, 1951.
- GERHARD RITTER. Ergebnis meiner Archivreise nach Berlin 1950. *Archivar*, May, 1951.
- JÜRGEN SYDOW. Das Archivwesen in der deutschen demokratischen Republik. *Ibid.*
- C. THOMAS CHARLES. L'économie de la zone soviétique en Allemagne. *Actualité éc.*, Apr., 1951.
- HEINRICH RITTER VON SRBIK. Die Freiherrn Pürcker von Weissenthurn. *Zeitschr. Hist. Ver. f. Steiermark*, 1948.
- FR. TREMEL. Die oberdeutschen Kaufleute in der Steiermark. *Ibid.*, 1949.
- LEONHARD V. MURALT. Zürich in der Eidgenossenschaft. *Schweitzer Monatsh.*, May, 1951.
- EDGAR BONJOUR. Basel und die Eidgenossen. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- HANS GEORG WACKERNAGEL. Aus der Frühzeit der Universität Basel. *Basler Zeitschr. f. Gesch. u. Altertumsk.*, 1950.
- HEKTOR AMMANN. Die Bevölkerung von Stadt und Landschaft Basel am Ausgang des Mittelalters. *Ibid.*
- HANS THIEME. Rechtskultur im alten Basel. Eine Erbschaftsteilung aus dem Ramsteiner Hof von 1590. *Ibid.*
- MARKUS JENNY. Christoffel Wyssgerber alias Christophorus Alutarius: Ein Beitrag zur baslerischen Kirchen-, Humanisten- und Musikgeschichte der Reformationszeit. *Ibid.*
- DELBERT GRATZ. The Bernese Anabaptists in the Sixteenth Century. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- LOUIS WAEBER. Le prédicateur de Fribourg et son conflit avec Berne au moment de la Réformation. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, no. 1, 1951.
- CHRISTIAN ADOLF MÜLLER. Johann Baptist von Staal als Obervogt in Pfirt (1664-1673). *Basler Zeitschr. f. Gesch. u. Altertumsk.*, 1950.
- KARL WALL. Heinrich Gelzer (1813-1889) als Diplomat im Neuenburger Konflikt. *Ibid.*
- FELIX M. WASERRMANN. Jacob Burckhardt's Letters: Conservative Humanism and the Spirit of the Nineteenth Century. *Germanic Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- KARL FEDERER. Zwingli und die Marienverehrung. *Zeitsch. f. Schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, no. 1, 1951.

## DOCUMENTS

- KARL HILLEBRAND. Bismarck: ein unbekannter Aufsatz aus dem Jahre 1866. *Neue Schweizer Rundsch.*, June, 1951.

## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*<sup>1</sup>

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI: SAGGI E RICERCHE. By *Emilia Morelli*. [Quaderni del Risorgimento, I.] (Rome, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1950, pp. 99.) The publication of this volume announces the beginning of a new series of studies devoted to the Risorgimento. In his preface to the *Quaderni*, Alberto M. Ghisalberti indicates that their primary purpose will be to encourage publication by young scholars. While in the first place an outgrowth of the work of those who have gathered round the chair of Risorgimento history at the University of Rome, the *Quaderni* will also be open to scholars from elsewhere, provided they be young. The five studies in the present volume are based in large measure upon unpublished materials. The largest, and that which will be of most interest to students of nationalism, reflects recent interest in the position of Sicily. By an exhaustive examination of the *Scritti editi ed inediti*, the author has reconstructed Mazzini's views on the Sicilian question. The second part of this study is based upon unpublished documents concerning Nicola Fabrizi in Rome's *Museo centrale del Risorgimento*. In the opening essay, on "Mazzini in Recent Historiography," the author places herself squarely with those who regard the Risorgimento as above all a moral, rather than a purely diplomatic, phenomenon. The biographers are considered first: Bolton King, Luzio, Griffith, Stringfellow Barr, Codignola. Other views on Mazzini include those of Salvemini, Levi, Gentile, Salvatorelli, and Hans Kohn. Of particular interest is the author's indication of the places where fresh studies are needed. The latter days of the Roman Republic were made more difficult by differences between Mazzini, who demanded an attack on the enemy, and Garibaldi, whose refusal to carry out the promised attack brought Mazzini's well-known denunciation. The author comes to the defense of Garibaldi's reputation by the publication of a hitherto unknown letter from Colonel Manara, which gives a military explanation for Garibaldi's behavior. Another essay corrects Mazzini's version of the secret session of the Roman Constituent Assembly of June 30, 1849. The final study presents an Italian translation of five open letters to Mazzini, published by Antonio Gallenga (Luigi Mariotti, pseud.) in a London republican weekly in 1851. The "traitor" to the principles of Mazzini urged him in the interests of national unity to support the House of Savoy, and to place his reliance on the intellectual bourgeoisie rather than on his "people."

GORDON GRIFFITHS, *University of California*

## ARTICLES

MASSIMO SEVERO GIANNINI. Le développement des sciences sociales en Italie. *Bull. Internat. des sciences sociales*, Summer, 1950.

JOSEPH KRAFT. Truth and Poetry in Machiavelli. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June, 1951.

LEONHARD V. MURALT. Machiavelli und die Geschichte von Florenz. *Schweizer Monatsh.*, Apr., 1950.

GIAMPIERO CAROCCI. La rivolta degli Straccioni in Lucca. *Riv. stor. ital.*, Mar., 1951.

LEOPOLDO SANDRI. Il *De Archivis* di Baldassare Bonifacio. *Notizie degli archivi di Stato*, Sept.-Dec., 1950.

GIUSEPPE SBODIO. G. F. Fiocchetto e la peste di Torino del 1630. *Nuova antologia*, May-Aug., 1951.

RAFFAELE CIASCA. La riforma agraria di Pio VI ed i suoi riflessi nel presente. *Vita e pensiero*, June, 1949.

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

- MAURICE VAUSSARD. Les Jansénistes italiens et la Constitution civile du clergé. *Rev. hist.*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- EMILIO RE. La Guardia Civica. *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- MAFFIO MAFFII. Considerazioni sul Risorgimento italiano. *Idea*, Aug., 1948.
- MARIO ZUCCHI. I drammi del nostro Risorgimento. *Ultrapadum*, Jan.-Dec., 1948.
- MARIO BATTISTINI. Medici italiani nel Belgio nella prima metà del secolo XIX. *Riv. di storia delle scienze mediche e naturali*, Jan.-June, 1948.
- NICCOLÒ RODOLICO. Carlo Alberto. *Ultrapadum*, Jan.-Dec., 1948.
- Id.* Nel centenario della morte di Carlo Alberto. *Nuova antologia*, July, 1949.
- LUIGI SALVATORELLI. Mazzini e gli Stati Uniti d'Europa. *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- TULLIO URANGIA TAZZOLI. Giuseppe Mazzini e Don Enrico Tazzoli. *Ibid.*
- VABRAN TOTOMIANZ. Giuseppe Mazzini come cooperatore. *Riv. della cooperazione*, May, 1949.
- ALFREDO DE DONNO. Mazzini riformatore sociale. *Pagine libere*, May, 1948.
- GONZAGUE TRUC. Mazzini et l'homme de '48. *Ecrits de Paris*, Oct., 1948.
- BALBINO GIULIANO. Vincenzo Gioberti e il problema nazionale italiano. *Nuova antologia*, Apr., 1951.
- NUNZIO COPPOLA. Un liberale moderato del Risorgimento italiano: Carlo Poerio. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1949.
- LAJOS PÁSZTOR. La concezione politica di Pacifico Valussi. *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- SEBASTIANO TIMPANARO. Uno scienziato del Risorgimento: Macedonio Melloni. *Ponte*, Jan., 1949.
- SALVO MASTELLONE. 1848 et l'Italie. *1848 et les Révolutions du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Feb., 1948.
- LUIGI SALVATORELLI. Quarantotto italiano e Quarantotto europeo. *Nuova antologia*, June, 1949.
- MEUCCIO RUINI. Il Quarantotto romano nel quadro d'Italia e d'Europa. *Ibid.*, May, 1949.
- GINO LUZZATTO. Aspects sociaux de la Révolution de 1848 en Italie. *Rev. socialiste*, Jan.-Feb., 1948.
- FELICE ANZI. Le ragioni economiche del 1848 italiano. *Critica sociale*, Mar., 1949.
- FRANCO CATALANO. Tendenze moderate e tendenze democratiche nel '48 e nel '49. *Belfagor*, Nov., 1949.
- WILLIAM EDMONDSON. Ricotti nel '48. *Ultrapadum*, Jan.-Dec., 1948.
- NATALINO SAPEGNO. Cattaneo e il '48. *Rinascita*, July, 1948.
- RENATO MORI. Pellegrino Rossi deputato al Consiglio Generale di Toscana. *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- GUIDO QUAZZA. Le forze economico-sociali e la preparazione del 1848 nel Lombardo-Veneto. *Critica sociale*, Apr. 15, May 1, 1949.
- PAOLA M. ARCARI. Il '48 in Sardegna. *Annuario degli studi di Cagliari*, 1947-48.
- CESARE REISOLI. La battaglia di Novara nel suo primo centenario. *Vie d'Italia*, Mar., 1949.
- CESARE SPELLANZON. Francia e Gran Bretagna in Sicilia nel 1848 e l'elezione del nuovo sovrano. *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- DOMENICO RODIA. La creazione di nuovi ministeri nel Regno delle Due Sicilie alla vigilia del 1848. *Notizie degli archivi di Stato*, Sept.-Dec., 1950.
- LUIGI MONDINI. La preparazione militare della Repubblica romana. *Nuova antologia*, Aug., 1949.
- ARMANDO LODOLINI. "Il 1848." Gli scienziati e i tecnici romani per l'Italia. *Urbe*, Nov.-Dec., 1948.
- CHARLES H. POUTHAS. Un observateur de Tocqueville à Rome pendant les premiers mois de l'occupation française (juillet-octobre 1848). *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- PIERO ZAMA. La Repubblica romana in Romagna. *Ibid.*
- FABIO SUADI. Il biennio 1848-49 nella Venezia Giulia e nella Dalmazia alla luce di nuovi studi. *Ibid.*
- BICE RIZZI. Clero e magistrati trentini nel 1848-49. *Ibid.*
- NICOLÒ GIACCHI. Nel centenario del 1849. *Riv. militare*, Dec., 1948.
- GIULIO CASALINI. La Repubblica romana del 1849 e la sua Costituente. *Critica sociale*, Apr. 1, 15, 1949.
- ROBERTO CESSI. La reazione piemontese e i moti di Genova del 1849. *Rinascita*, July, 1949.

- FRANCO VALSECCHI. Luigi Bonaparte e gli intenti della sua politica d'intervento a Roma nel 1849. *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- LEOPOLDO SANDRI. L'intervento militare spagnolo contro la Repubblica romana nel 1849. *Ibid.*
- ALFREDO RICCI. Il pellegrinaggio di Pio IX a Pagani ed a Salerno durante l'esilio di Portici: 8 ottobre 1849. *Ibid.*
- CÉSAR VIDAL. La II<sup>e</sup> République et le Royaume de Sardaigne en 1849. *Ibid.*
- PIERO PIERI. Il generale Chrzanowski e la mancata difesa del Ramorino alla Cava. *Ibid.*
- ACHILLE RIGGIO. Un processo politico nel 1849 in Calabria Ultra. *Ibid.*
- ERSILIO MICHEL. Esuli italiani nelle Isole Ionie (1849). *Ibid.*
- LUIGI MINOJA. La battaglia di Montebello, 20 maggio 1859. *Ultrpadum*, Jan.-Dec., 1948.
- LUIGI AMBROSOLI. Per una storia del movimento cattolico in Italia dopo l'Unità. *Humanitas*, Feb., 1951.
- ALBERTO BOSCOLO. Dalla caduta dei Gremi alla formazione delle Società Operaie. *Sardegna nuova*, Nov., 1949.
- ENZO PISCITELLI. Francesco Crispi, Primo Levi e "La Riforma." *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- OTTORINO MORRA. Antonio Fogazzaro e le polemiche religiose del suo tempo (dalle carte di Pio Molajoni) [cont.]. *Nuova antologia*, May-Aug., 1951.
- ANTONIO PAPA. Orientamenti per uno studio su Giovanni Giolitti. *Belfagor*, Nov., 1950.
- GAETANO NATALE. Ivanoe Bonomi, uomo di stato e cospiratore. *Nuova antologia*, May-Aug., 1951.
- ERNESTO RAGIONIERI. Gaetano Salvemini storico e politico. *Belfagor*, Sept., 1950.
- MARIO MONTAGNANA. Grandezza e miseria della Fiat. *Rinascita*, Nov.-Dec., 1950.
- MASSIMO SALVADORI. Las ciencias sociales del siglo xx en Italia. *Rev. mexicana de sociologia*, Jan.-Apr., 1950.
- PAOLO MARONI. L'ufficio storico della Marina militare dalla sua istituzione ad oggi (1913-1949). *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- TRYGGVE GRAN. La spedizione dell' "Italia" al Polo nel 1928. *Nuova antologia*, Feb., 1951.
- GIORGIO MEMMO. L'ufficio storico dello Stato maggiore dell' esercito nell' ultimo decennio. *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.
- PAOLO BERARDI. La campagna in Tunisia e i suoi insegnamenti. *Nuova antologia*, Jan., 1951.
- MARIO BENDISCIOLI. Esiste un "secondo Risorgimento"? *Humanitas*, Feb., 1949.
- ROBERTO BATTAGLIA. Il significato nazionale della Resistenza. *Società*, June, 1950.
- IGNAZIO SILONE. Nuovo incontro con Giuseppe Mazzini: Pensieri su alcune difficoltà della nostra epoca. *Ponte*, Jan., 1949.
- GIORGIO AMENDOLA. Una inchiesta popolare sulla miseria del Mezzogiorno. *Rinascita*, Nov.-Dec., 1950.
- NICOLÒ CASTELLINO. Il problema dell' alimentazione nel Mezzogiorno. *Nuova antologia*, Jan., 1951.
- ANTHONY MOORE. Sicilian Problems. *Contemp. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- A. E. GUILLAUME. Critiques américaines et réalités italiennes. *Rev. pol. et parl.*, Jan., 1951.
- BARBARA BARCLAY CARTER. Franco-Italian Relations. *Contemp. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- BERNARD WALL. Italian Reviews. *Twentieth Century*, June, 1951.
- PAOLO VITORELLI. Precedenti e significati dell' Unità Socialista. *Nuova antologia*, Mar., 1951.
- MARIO ROSSI. E.C.A.'s Blunders in Italy. *Nation*, Apr. 7, 1951.
- SYLVIA SPRIGGE. Italy Goes to the Polls. *Nation*, May 26, 1951.
- Progress of Italian Land Reform. *Economist*, June 9, 1951.
- In France and Italy [1951 elections]. *Commonweal*, July 4, 1951.
- GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN. From Italy: Two Shades of Red [1951 elections]. *Ibid.*
- ELEANOR CLARK. The Fountains of Rome. *Partisan Rev.*, July-Aug., 1951.

## DOCUMENTS

- EMILIO RE. Due lettere di Cristina Morozzo, la madre di Massimo d'Azeglio. *Notizie degli archivi di Stato*, Sept.-Dec., 1950.
- RENZO U. MONTINI. Lettere di Luigi Porro Lambertenghi a Pietro Borsieri. *Rassegna stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.-Dec., 1950.



## RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

THE WORLD OF THE SLAVS. By *Albert Mousset*. Translated from the French by *Margaret Lavenu*. [Library of World Affairs, Number 14.] (Rev. ed., New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1950, pp. ix, 204, \$3.00.) This slim volume possesses topical and historical interest and is written with a sure touch and discernment. It is a very considerable expansion of a first edition which appeared in 1946, and carries inter-Slavic relationships through the Titoist breach with the Kremlin. The author, who has an established reputation as a writer on Slavic themes, devotes well over half his space to the 1940's. The most original section integrates sensitively the religious factors in the broad Slavic pattern; otherwise the ground covered will be familiar to students of East European affairs. From a stalwart Slavic point of view it is permissible doubtless to dismiss Pan-Slavism as a political force before 1914 as a myth, a superstition. But to do that disregards the suspicion and distrust which the phenomenon recurrently aroused among policy-makers in central Europe. With the resurgence of individual nationalisms after 1918, Russian influence upon the Slavic peoples dropped sharply, only to rise to an unprecedented pitch after the enthronement of the Nazis. Conditions in the smaller Slavic states at selected periods during and after the Second World War are swiftly surveyed. There are conscientious accounts of general Slavic conferences in Europe and America during the late war, which thoroughly demonstrated the solidarity of the Slavs. The curious Orleanski mission receives passing comment. Upon liberation from the Axis yoke Slavic solidarity yielded to unity on Marxist foundations, until the Yugoslav deviation, which is rightly attributed to sturdy national pride and repugnance to economic enslavement. Yugoslavia stands out as a country which has adopted communism but will not bend to domination by Soviet oligarchs. This book is a useful addition to the literature on eastern Europe in the recent past, though scarcely a "must" for the scholar. There are occasional cumbrous, puzzling passages, evidences of a certain amount of haste in proofreading, and annoying use of the terms "race" and "racial" implying "blood" affinity, it appears. The author errs in suggesting that the Soviet population bounded upward faster than India's, for example, and in describing Danilewsky as anti-Darwinian in orientation. There is a serviceable index, but the merits of the book would have been increased if it had been equipped with a bibliography.

ARTHUR J. MAY, *University of Rochester*

## ARTICLES

- V. PASHUTO, L. CHEREPNIN. O periodizatsii istorii Rossii epokhi feodalizma [the periodization of Russian history of the age of feudalism]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 2, 1951.
- Ob itogakh diskussii o periodizatsii istorii SSSR [the results of the discussion of the periodization of USSR history]. *Ibid.*, no. 3, 1951.
- A. ZIMIN, A. NASONOV. O tak nazyvaemom Troitskom spiske Novgorodskoi pervoi letopisi [the so-called Troitskii version of the Novgorod first chronicle]. *Ibid.*, no. 2, 1951.
- JEROME BLUM. The Early History of the Russian Peasantry [review article]. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Spring, 1951.
- R. N. CHOWDHURI. Anglo-Russian Commercial Rivalry in 1812 A.D. *Jour. Indian Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- WILLIAM EDGERTON. Leskov on Quakers in Russia. *Bull. Friends Hist. Assn.*, Spring, 1951.
- ANDREAS DORPALEN. Tsar Alexander III and the Boulanger Crisis in France. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June, 1951.

- E. K. FRANCIS. The Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia, 1789-1914: A Sociological Interpretation. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- N. SAMORUKOV. Obshchestvenno-politicheskaia deiatel'nost' G. A. Lopatina (1845-1918) [the social and political activity of Lopatin]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 3, 1951.
- MARC SLONIM. Dostoevsky under the Soviets. *Russian Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- ANDREW M. HANFMAN. The American Villain on the Soviet Stage. *Ibid.*
- BORIS I. NICOLAEVSKY. The New Soviet Campaign against the Peasants. *Ibid.*
- PAUL KLUKE. Deutschland und Russland zwischen den Weltkriegen. *Hist. Zeitschr.*, May, 1951.
- ELIE BORSCHAK. La Ruthénie pré-mongole, l'Ukraine et la Russie. *Rev. hist.*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- F. LOS'. K voprosu o formirovanii rabocheho klassa na Ukraine [the formation of the working class in the Ukraine]. *Voprosy ist.*, no. 2, 1951.
- BOGUSŁAW LEŚNODORSKI. Elementy feudalne i burżuazyjne w ustroju i prawie Księstwa Warszawskiego [Éléments féodaux et bourgeois dans les institutions et dans le droit du duché de Varsovie]. *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, III, 1951.
- ZDZISŁAW KACZMARCZYK, MICHAŁ SZCZANIECKI. Kolonizacja na prawie niemieckim w Polsce a rozwój renty feudalnej [La "colonisation allemande" en Pologne et l'évolution de la rente féodale]. *Ibid.*
- STANISŁAW SZCZOTKA. Zwalnianie chłopów z poddaństwa w województwie krakowskim w latach 1572-1794 [Les affranchissements des serfs dans le palatinat de Cracovie, 1572-1794]. *Ibid.*
- STANISŁAW ROMAN. O czasie powstania statutu warskiego [La date de la formation du statut de Warta]. *Ibid.*
- WŁADYSŁAW OCHMAŃSKI. Zwalczanie zbójnictwa góralskiego przez szlachtę w XVII i XVIII w. [La lutte de la noblesse contre le brigandage dans les régions montagneuses de la Petite-Pologne aux XVII et XVIII siècles]. *Ibid.*

## Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

### ARTICLES

- POLYCHRONIS K. ENEPEKIDES. Der Briefwechsel des Maximos Margunios, Bischof von Kythera (1549-1602): ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Gelehrten-Geschichte der Griechen im 16. Jahrhundert und deren Beziehungen zum Abendland. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, I, 1951.
- HIKMET BAYUR. Letter from the Ottoman Emperor Süleyman II to Aurangzeb Alamgir [in Turkish]. *Belleten* (Ankara), Apr., 1950.
- L. FEKETE. The Ottoman Turks and the Hungarians (1366-1699) [in Turkish]. *Ibid.*
- TAHSIN ÖZ. Documents Relating to Sultan Mehmed II in the Archives of the Top Kapu Saray [in Turkish]. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1950.
- The Sinkiang-Hunza Frontier. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, Jan., 1951.
- KEMAL EDİB KÜRÇUOĞLU. Süleyman the Magnificent's Letter to Bâli Beg [in Turkish]. *Ankara Üniv. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 1, 1950.
- HÜSEYİN G. YURDAYDIN. A New Manuscript of Ferdi's Süleymanname [in Turkish]. *Ibid.*
- GY. NEMETH. Turkic Studies in Hungary, 1939-1946 [in Turkish]. *Ibid.*
- F. LASZLO. The Dikuz Oghuz and the Gök Türk [in Turkish]. *Belleten*, Apr., 1950.
- ADNAN SADIK ERZİ. Notes and Documents from Turkish Libraries [in Turkish]. *Ibid.*
- R. C. VERMA. The Relations of the Mughals with the Tribes of the Northwest: Babur and Humayun. *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad), Oct., 1950.
- S. M. YUSUF. Al-Muhallab and the Poets. *Ibid.*, July, 1950.
- B. M. TIRMIDHI. Zoroastrians and Their Fire Temples in Iran . . . from the 9th to 12th Centuries. *Ibid.*, Oct., 1950.
- HADI HASAN. Muhammad Falaki-i-Shirwani and His Unique Divan. *Ibid.*, July, 1950.
- Middle East Vacuum. *Economist*, Dec. 9, 1950.

- Youth and Politics in the Near East. *World Today*, Mar., 1951.
- BARID ABUETAN. Eritrea: United Nations Problem and Solution. *Middle Eastern Affairs*, Feb., 1951.
- C. F. BECKINGHAM. The Date of Pitts' Pilgrimage to Mecca. *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, no. 3, 1950.
- LEON B. BLAIR. Mediterranean Geopolitics. *U.S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Feb., 1951.
- CHARLES BLOCH. Le Proche Orient dans la crise internationale actuelle. *Politique étrangère*, Jan., 1951.
- S. WHITTEMORE BOGGS. National Claims in Adjacent Areas. *Geog. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- MAJID KHADDURI. Constitutional Development in Syria. *Middle East Jour.*, Spring, 1951.
- DON PERETZ. The Crazy Quilt of Our Middle East Policy. *Reporter*, Apr. 3, 1951.
- R. B. SERJEANT and G. M. WICKENS. The Wahhabis in Western Arabia in 1903-4 A.D. *Islamic Culture*, Jan., 1950.
- ANTHONY TALERICO. Sea of Decision. *U.S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Sept., 1950.
- SIDNEY WALLACH. Decision in the Near East. *Yale Rev.*, Mar., 1951.
- S. YIN'AM. Middle East Mosaic. *Middle Eastern Affairs*, Apr., 1951.
- ARTHUR V. HUFFMAN. The Administrative and Social Structure of Afghan Life. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, Jan., 1951.
- J. E. SPENCER. Changing Asiatic Cities. *Geog. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- AFIF I. TANNOUS. Land Ownership in the Middle East. *For. Agric.*, Dec., 1950.
- Anatolian School. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, Jan., 1951.
- J. N. D. ANDERSON. Recent Developments in *Shari'a* Law, III. *Muslim World*, Apr., 1951.
- JOHN ERNEST MERRILL. The Tractate of John of Damascus on Islam. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM McELWEE MILLER. The Religious Situation in Iran. *Ibid.*
- P. RONDOT. L'évolution historique des Coptes d'Egypte. *Cahiers de l'Orient contemp.*, no. 2, 1950.
- S. G. THICKNESSE. The Arab Refugees. *Royal Central Asian Jour.*, Jan., 1951.

## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard<sup>1</sup>

THE BUDDHIST WAY OF LIFE: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY. By F. Harold Smith, Professor of Comparative Religion and Philosophy of Religion in the University of Manchester and Fellow of King's College, London. [Hutchinson's University Library, World Religions.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1951, pp. vii, 189, trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.) In this modest volume Professor Smith has written an excellent brief statement of the development of Buddhist philosophy. The difficult problem of organizing the historical and doctrinal material is admirably resolved by a happy combination of the two. There is, however, little new here, nor does there purport to be, for the book is based on standard works which are listed in a selected bibliography at the end of each chapter. Beginning with a sketch of the Vedic and Brahmanic milieu in which Buddhism originated, Dr. Smith recounts the primitive tradition, explains the central doctrine, and touches on the influence of Asoka. "What St. Paul was to Christianity," he writes, "so, in his way, was Asoka to Buddhism." He goes on to trace the differentiation which took place resulting in the Hinayana school (Ceylon, Burma, Thailand) with its search for individual sainthood and the Mahayana school (India, China, Japan) with its object of universal salvation. There follow chapters showing how in China, because of the decay of Indian Buddhism and the strength of Confucianism, Buddhism permanently colored but did not dominate the civilization. In Japan, however, coming upon a primitive culture it was able fully to naturalize itself, although it was eventually rejected for

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

Buddhized Shinto. It is regrettable that the author could not suggest in his concluding chapter the significance as well as the fact that, in contrast to Western thought, Buddhism teaches the illusory nature of mundane things. Not intended for the specialist, this book will be a useful supplement for anyone primarily interested in the secular aspects of Asian history.

MARK NAIDIS, *Washington, D.C.*

THE GRAND PEREGRINATION: BEING THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF FERNÃO MENDES PINTO. By *Maurice Collis*. (London, Faber and Faber; New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. 313, \$4.50.) The usual interpretation of the author of the *Peregrinação* is summed up in the lame pun on his name: "*Fernão, mentes? Minto.*" (Fernão, dost thou lie? I lie.) Indeed, almost every writer who has sought to use his work as a historical source has either been severely criticized as a historiographical innocent for doing so or has given up Fernão's account as a tissue of only possibly true and certainly irreconcilable tales. Mr. Collis suggests another interpretation, and it is an attractive one. According to him, as he summarizes the *Peregrinação* and gives a brief account of what we know of Fernão's own life (incidentally, his is the first full-length English summary), Fernão sought to create a synthesis of the Portuguese of his time overseas. For this purpose, he wrought his own acquaintance with the East into a prose epic with a great number of tales, relations, and other accounts, many by the actors or the eyewitnesses, and gave them artistic coherence by casting them all into the first person singular. It was not his intention to deceive the reader into supposing that here was an authentic and reliable source all ready to be tucked tidily into footnotes; instead, he sought to convey some sense of what the hardships and the glory of the conquest of the East had been. Mr. Collis feels that in this Fernão succeeded, and that he produced one of the great artistic monuments of the sixteenth century. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Collis as to Fernão's intention and the measure of his success. Mr. Collis deserves our thanks for setting Fernão in a perspective in which his great work makes sense. His summary is easy reading for those who do not use Portuguese and forms a sound basis for evaluating the *Peregrinação*, which I, for one, am willing to class among our great historico-literary syntheses, along with *The Anatomy of Melancholy* and *Black Lamb, Grey Falcon*.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT, *Vanderbilt University*

TRADE THROUGH THE HIMALAYAS. By *Schuyler Cammann*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. x, 186, \$3.50.) Concerned mainly with Anglo-Tibetan relations, this monograph skillfully integrates a great deal of scattered material and should prove rewarding to students of British expansion and of India in particular. Dr. Cammann, using both Occidental and Oriental sources, has produced a clear picture of the British efforts to open Tibet to trade in the late eighteenth century. He begins by showing how after 1750, under Manchu suzerainty, Tibet became a "forbidden land," and how the conquest of Nepal by the Gurkhas in 1769 tended to strangle trans-Himalayan trade with northern India. The great famine of 1770 stimulated efforts to extend the trade of Bengal and led indirectly to the first English mission to Tibet. This study centers around the missions of George Bogle in 1774 and Samuel Turner in 1783, both commissioned by Warren Hastings. Bogle's reconnaissance resulted in a full report fascinating to scholars, but he failed to gain permission for European agents to visit Lhasa. Turner, his successor, did not fare much better as a diplomat, but his account of rich trade possibilities encouraged British interest. Nevertheless, when the Manchus finally expelled Gurkha invaders later,

the Chinese persistently refused to permit trade between Bengal and Tibet. Professor Cammann succeeds admirably in recreating the pattern of Anglo-Tibetan relations, which, after all, is his major problem, but in the final chapter he also suggests a continuity between Bogle and Younghusband that is rather inadequately supported. A few pages elaborating the author's views on this point would have been appreciated. Included in appendixes are a brief comment on the company's war with Bhutan in 1773, a translation of the Panchen Lama's first letter to Warren Hastings, the principal articles of the treaty of peace with Bhutan, and a summary of Turner's list of articles in the Tibetan trade in 1782. An annotated bibliography of principal sources cited adds further to the usefulness of the work. Extraordinarily well written, this unpretentious little book deserves more than casual consideration.

MARK NAIDIS, *Washington, D.C.*

**SPECIAL BUSINESS INTERESTS AND THE OPEN DOOR POLICY.** By *Charles S. Campbell, Jr.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, LIII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. 88, \$3.00.) American business was only remotely concerned with the China trade until near the close of the last century. Then the "bogey of the surplus" arose. Foreign commerce, from debit balances, showed disconcerting surpluses within a few years. Europe threatened discriminatory measures against the destructive competition of the American "pike in a carp pond." Dr. Campbell discloses how American businessmen turned to China and prepared the ground for the Open Door policy. Primarily interested were the cotton exporters and investors in railway concessions. The kerosene, flour, and metal industries saw large opportunities as well. But if China were split up into spheres of interest, America would be eliminated from "the greatest market of the world." A Committee on American Interests in China got under way, representative of big business. Russian designs in Manchuria and North China, main areas of American trade, brought Britain and the United States together. How Hoppisley and Rockhill shaped John Hay's thinking up to the issue of the famous notes to the Powers in September, 1899, is well enough known. Generally overlooked is that President McKinley, with an election due, was politically dependent on businessmen such as supported the American Asiatic Association. The powerful association is further credited with inspiring the July, 1900, circular guaranteeing as an integral part of the Open Door policy China's territorial and administrative entity. Dr. Campbell's thesis that the continued pressure of special business interests played a decisive part culminating in Hay's action appears amply substantiated. Though contributing little that is new, this concise study brings out how a half-century ago American business was overwhelmingly preoccupied with the prospects of the China trade. It is also a reminder of how American diplomacy in late years has failed to sustain American business in an area in which it won striking success. The book is well documented, with a valuable bibliographical note.

ESSON M. GALE, *University of Michigan*

**THE RISE AND FALL OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE.** By *David H. James.* (New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 409, \$5.00.) In the preface of his book Captain James announces that his intention is "to meet the needs of the general reader who wishes to obtain an outline of Japanese history in addition to the major factors contributing to the debacle of 1945." That the author had long years of diversified contacts and experience in the Far East and was keenly observant of events as they took place rapidly before his eyes is without question. There is a certain soundness of interpretation of these events; also, Captain James for the most part reveals an open mind,

for he sees the universality of human endeavor and institutions, whether it be in Buddhism, Christianity, the feudalistic shogunate, modern Gumbatsu, Atlantic Charter, Yalta agreement, British "Brass," or the atom bomb. He falls only occasionally into traditional prejudices and uncritical generalizations. As regards his treatment of Japanese history, however, the author must have had some doubts himself, for he says, "Any inaccuracy—regarding facts—is due to the historians who placed it on paper in the first instance and not to any bias on my part" (p. 80). He may not have had a "bias," but of inaccuracies, both of facts and of language, there are many. Even the general reader should not be told that early national histories of Japan were compiled by individual Fujiwara shoguns, that the history of Christianity in Japan commenced with the contact of Japanese and Portuguese in India at the end of the thirteenth century, nor that the Washington Conference handed over to Japan the responsibility for peace in the Orient. Any student of Far Eastern history could easily make a list of such inaccuracies, particularly when the author indulges in almost unrelated excursions into Chinese history and politics. The Chinese classics, the *Shu-king* and the *Shi-king*, are taken to be persons (p. 53); Sun Yat-sen, as leader of the 1898 reform movement (p. 139); Yuan Shih-k'ai is described as a wily "Manchu" (p. 140); the young emperor is jailed in the "Temple of Heaven" (p. 140), and Li Hung Chang, almost the only persona grata from the North to the Allies, is given as one of the two arch supporters of the Boxers (p. 134)! Inconsistent romanization of Chinese names, exaggerated use of Japanese terms and irrelevant materials such as the history of the Mongols and of the Chinese dialects, make the book less impressive and valuable than it otherwise could have been. As a whole, the author has portrayed very clearly the birth-pains of modern Japan, her golden opportunities and planned achievements, and finally her "dream" and the debacle. Had he begun with the "raising of the bamboo curtain" and Meiji restoration and substituted more of his valuable personal observations for irrelevant materials, there would be no question that Captain James would have done greater justice to himself. We hope that he will revise this edition so that the full worth of his account may be realized.

YU-SHAN HAN, *University of California, Los Angeles*

**KOREAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS: DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE FAR EASTERN DIPLOMACY OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume I, THE INITIAL PERIOD, 1883-1886.** Edited, with an Introduction, by *George M. McCune* and *John A. Harrison*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951, pp. viii, 163, \$2.50.) This is a useful addition to the growing body of materials on Korean-American relations. It is the first of a projected three volumes, to cover 1883-1905. It might have been well to have extended coverage back a bit, to include the Shufeldt treaty negotiations; but the dates chosen are defensible, as spanning the years when the United States had a legation in Seoul. Some may ask: why such a collection as this? After all, microfilm copies of all these documents, and more, may be obtained from the National Archives for \$16 (*List of File Microcopies in the National Archives*, 1950, pp. 6, 11). Scholars working on specialized problems in American diplomacy or Far Eastern history will want to use the microcopies, or the originals. But students working on broader subjects will welcome this publication as a time-saver; and all, specialists included, will be interested in the arrangement of documents into meaningful categories: (1) general legation activities; (2) Korean efforts to secure American advisers, to counteract influence of other foreigners in Seoul; (3) Russian and British activities (Russia secured much influence in Korea, Britain



countering by temporarily seizing Port Hamilton); (4) the Sino-Japanese struggle, featuring an 1884 revolution backed by Korean progressives, Japanese, and American Naval Attaché George Foulk. Also useful is a nineteen-page introduction, which ties the documents together, and stresses American blunders. The introduction and selection of documents will not please everybody. The key to the story, say the editors, is the fact that Minister Lucius Foote and his assistant Foulk, ill-supported by their home government, failed in efforts to "keep Korea independent"; hence "the United States had fumbled an opportunity that would not again be offered." Many will feel that the opportunity was very limited, and that, all things considered, even an efficient State Department could have done little in 1883-86. Another point may be in order. As the subtitle indicates, this volume is designed partly to explain American policy in the Orient. The editors concentrate, however, on the international crises in Korea. This is understandable, considering Korea's importance in Asia, then and now. Yet this emphasis tends to obscure the fact that the primary purpose of nineteenth-century American diplomacy in the Far East was to advance American interests. In the years here covered (1883-86) American diplomats helped their nationals establish the first permanent Protestant missions in Korea and aided merchants interested in building Korean-American trade. Neither of these developments receives attention in this collection. It is to be hoped that Volumes II and III will include such subjects. It might be further suggested that a collection of documents on Korean-American relations would be more valuable if it went beyond State Department instructions to and dispatches from the American legation in Seoul. Dispatches from the American legation in China, and letters in the Foulk Manuscripts, to mention only two easily accessible American sources, would enrich the collection. In other words, those editing documents in American diplomatic history would do well to use the broad coverage of David Hunter Miller's *Treaty Series* as a pattern. The present volume is attractively designed and well printed. The work of checking was carefully done, and scholars can use the documents with confidence that the printed text is a true copy of the original. But, sad to say, there is no subject index. Undoubtedly there will be one for the three volumes. But, since Volumes II and III appear not to be scheduled for publication in the near future, Volume I should have one of its own.

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON, *University of Wisconsin*

#### ARTICLES

Official documents [Chinese Russian Treaty, Feb. 14, 1950, and related documents]. *Yenching Jour. Soc. Stud.*, July, 1950.

PHILIP H. COOK. Some Missionary Ships in the Pacific. *Am. Neptune*, Oct., 1950.

RICHARD H. DILLON. The Last Plan to Seize the Manila Galleon. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.

BEN C. LIMB. The Pacific Pact: Looking Forward or Backward. *For. Affairs*, July, 1951.

H. W. BAILEY. The Staël-Holstein Miscellany. *Asia Major*, II, 1951.

C. M. CHANG. Mao's Stratagem of Land Reform. *For. Affairs*, July, 1951.

HSI-T'UNG CHANG. The Earliest Phase of the Introduction of Western Political Science into China. *Yenching Jour. Soc. Stud.*, July, 1950.

AGNES FANG-CHIH CHEN. Chinese Frontier Diplomacy: The Eclipse of Manchuria. *Ibid.*

CHENG-SIANG CHEN. Land Utilization in Formosa. *Geog. Rev.*, July, 1951.

MELVIN CONANT, JR. JCRR [Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction]: An Object Lesson. *Far Eastern Survey*, May 2, 1951.

C. P. FITZGERALD. The Chinese Revolution and the West. *Pacific Affairs*, Mar., 1951.

MAO-CHI FU. The Lolo Kinship Terms as Affected by the Sex of the Speaker. *Asia Major*, II, 1951.

JACQUES GERNET. Biographie du Maître Chen-houei du Ho-tsö (668-760): Contribution à l'histoire de l'école du Dhyana. *Jour. asiatique*, Vol. 239, no. 1, 1951.

- NORTON S. GINSBURG. China's Railroad Network. *Geog. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- KATRINE R. C. GREENE. UNRRA's Record in China. *Far Eastern Survey*, May 16, 1951.
- FELIX GRUENBERGER. The Jewish Refugees in Shanghai. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Oct., 1950.
- ERICH HAENISCH. Der Aufstand von Ch'en She im Jahre 209 v. Chr (*Shiki* 48). *Asia Major*, II, 1951.
- T. HANEDA. On the Fragments of the Two Nestorian Scriptures in Chinese Recently Made Known [in Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Mar., 1951.
- G. HALOUN. Legalist Fragments, Part I: *Kuan-tsi* 55 and Related Texts. *Asia Major*, II, 1951.
- J. C. HOU. Topographical Setting and Geographical Relations of Peking. *Yenching Jour. Soc. Stud.*, July, 1950.
- R. H. HUGHES. Hong Kong: An Urban Study. *Geog. Jour.*, Mar., 1951.
- C. IHKO. Revision of the Imperial Declaration of the T'ai-p'ing Dynasty [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Feb., 1951.
- M. ISHIDA. On the Early History of Zoroastrianism in China [prior to T'ang. In Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Mar., 1951.
- S. KAIZUKA. The Original Form of the *Lun-yü* [in Japanese]. *Ibid.*
- G. KAWABATA. Social and Economic Background of the Compilation of the *T'ien-chao t'ien-mou chin-tu* [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Feb., 1951.
- K. KAWAKAMI. On the *Ya-ts'ien* in Early Sung Period [in Japanese]. *Shikagu-Zasshi*, Feb., 1951.
- N. KUBO. An Aspect of Chüan-chen School of Taoism in Its Early Stages of Development [in Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Mar., 1951.
- J. M. H. LINBECK. Communist Policy and the Chinese Family. *Far Eastern Survey*, July 25, 1951.
- T. MAKINO. An Inquiry into the Descendants of the Nan-chao People [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Dec., 1950.
- M. MATSUMOTO. On the So-called Seasonal Rhythm of the Chinese Ancient Festivals [in Japanese]. *Ibid.*
- J. V. MILLS. Notes on Early Chinese Voyages. *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Pts. 1-2, 1951.
- ROBERT C. NORTH. The NEP and the New Democracy. *Pacific Affairs*, Mar., 1951.
- LUCIUS C. PORTER. Climate Calendar and Philosophy in Ancient China: Suggested Relationships. *Yenching Jour. Soc. Stud.*, July, 1951.
- FRED W. RIGGS. The Economics of Red China. *For. Policy Reps.*, June 1, 1951.
- BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ. Ch'en Tu-hsiu and the Acceptance of the Modern West. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan., 1951.
- T. SEJINO. P'ei Wen-chung: Studies in the Prehistory of China [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Feb., 1951.
- G. WILLIAM SKINNER. Aftermath of Communist Liberation in the Chengtu Plain. *Pacific Affairs*, Mar., 1951.
- GERARD SWOPE and RICHARD J. WALSH. Mass Education Movement and JCRR. *Far Eastern Survey*, July 25, 1951.
- YEN-CHEN T. H. TCHANG. Le traité de Whampoa, 1844. *Yenching Jour. Soc. Stud.*, July, 1950.
- TJOE-SOM TJAN. On the Rendering of the Word *Ti* as "Emperor." *Jour. Am. Oriental Soc.*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- S. UMEHARA. The Chinese Tombs of the Han Period in Northern Indochina [in Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Mar., 1951.
- H. WADA. A Chinese Embassy to the "Southern Sea Countries" in the Middle of the Seventh Century [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Dec., 1950.
- S. WADA. On the Chinese Province Hsüan-t'u: Its Position re-examined [in Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Mar., 1951.
- Id.* Some Problems concerning the Rise of the Manchu Dynasty [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Feb., 1951.
- HELLMUT WILHELM. The Problem of Within and Without: A Confucian Attempt in Syncretism. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan., 1951.
- ARTHUR F. WRIGHT. Fu I and the Rejection of Buddhism. *Ibid.*
- K. YOSHIKAWA. The Life and Poems of Chang Yüeh [in Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Mar., 1951.
- YAO-SHENG CHEN. Korea after World War II. *Asiatic Rev.*, Jan., 1951.

- L. LEGETI. Mots des civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise. *Acta Orientalia* (Budapest), I, 1950.
- T. MIKAMI. The Formation of Ancient Communities in Manchuria and Korea—On the Dolmen Ages in Northeastern Asia [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Jan., 1951.
- S. MURAKAMI. Recent Studies of the Mongol History [in Japanese]. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1951.
- S. YAMAMOTO. Tangut Tribes in the North-Western Borderland of China during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries and the Foundation of the Hsi-hsia [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Dec., 1950.
- MITSUOSHI AZUMA. Labor Legislation in Japan. *Ann. Hitotsubashi Acad.*, Apr., 1951.
- JOSEPH W. BALLANTINE. Democratic Forces in Prewar Japan. *Far Eastern Survey*, May 30, 1951.
- W. G. BEASLEY. The Language Problem in Anglo-Japanese Negotiations of 1854. *Bull. School Oriental Stud.*, XIII, 1950.
- CLAUDE A. BUSS. US Policy on the Japan Treaty. *Far Eastern Survey*, June 13, 1951.
- JOHN FOSTER DULLES. Japan and the Philippines. *Ibid.*
- HENRY F. GRAFF. Bluejackets with Perry in Japan: A Day-by-Day Account Kept by Master's Mate John R. C. Lewis and Cabin Boy William B. Allen [concl.]. *Bull. New York Pub. Lib.*, July, 1951.
- M. INOUE. Trends of the Studies in the History of Ancient Buddhist Thought in Japan [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Jan., 1951.
- KAZUO KAWAI. Japan in the Cold War. *World Affairs Interpreter*, Autumn, 1950.
- K. KODAMA. A Case of Village Finance in the Tokugawa Era [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Feb., 1951.
- WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD. The State and Economic Growth in Japan. *Far Eastern Survey*, May 16, 1951.
- HIROSHI MINAMI. The Post-War Psychology of the Japanese People. *Ann. Hitotsubashi Acad.*, Apr., 1951.
- TOKIJIRO MINOGUCHI. The Over-Population Problem in Post-War Japan. *Ibid.*
- S. MIYAMOTO and R. HAYASHI. Readjustment of the Census Registers in Ancient Japan [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Mar., 1951.
- M. MIYAGAWA. Process of the Transformation of the Ancient Family [in Japanese]. *Ibid.*, Feb., 1951.
- ELIZABETH I. MOORE and W. D. PRESTON. Japanese Riddles I. *Jour. Am. Oriental Soc.*, Apr.-June, 1951.
- KAZUSHI OHKAWA. Measurement of Standards of Living of the Working Classes in Japan. *Ann. Hitotsubashi Acad.*, Apr., 1951.
- SABURO OKITA. Japan's Economy and the Korean War. *Far Eastern Survey*, July 25, 1951.
- EDWARD G. SEIDENSTICKER. Japanese Views on Peace. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1951.
- A. SEKI. On the Intention of the Compilation of *Shinsen shōjiroku* [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Mar., 1951.
- JOJI TAGAMI. Some Problems on the Constitution of Japan. *Ann. Hitotsubashi Acad.*, Apr., 1951.
- ZENYA TAKASHIMA. The Social Consciousness of the People in Post-War Japan. *Ibid.*
- H. TANAAMI. On Historical Materials of the Mizuno Family [in Japanese]. *Shigaku-Zasshi*, Mar., 1951.
- KONRAD BEKKER. Land Reform Legislation in India. *Middle East Jour.*, Summer, 1951.
- GEORGES CONDOMINAS. Aspects of a Minority Problem in Indochina. *Pacific Affairs*, Mar., 1951.
- SIR GODFREY DAVIS. Kashmir—A Sovereign State. *Asiatic Rev.*, Jan., 1950.
- RUPERT EMERSON. American Policy in Southeast Asia. *Social Research*, Dec., 1950.
- J. S. FURNIVALL. Capitalism and Communism in Burma and the Tropical Far East. *Hist. Stud., Australia and New Zealand*, May, 1951.
- I. HINO. On a Drum of Bronze Found at Klang, Malay Peninsula [in Japanese]. *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Dec., 1950.
- S. IWAO. The Japanese at Batavia in the 17th Century as seen from Their "Register of Baptism" [in Japanese]. *Tōhōgaku*, Mar., 1951.
- WERNER KLATT. An Agricultural Programme for East Pakistan. *Twentieth Century*, July, 1951.
- M. R. MASANI. The Communist Party in India. *Pacific Affairs*, Mar., 1951.

- H. DE MEEL. Impediments to Economic Progress in Indonesia. *Pacific Affairs*, Mar., 1951.  
 SIR KIKABHAI PREMCHAND. The Economic Position of India. *Asiatic Rev.*, Jan., 1951.  
 VIRGINIA THOMPSON. Labor in Southeast Asia. *Far Eastern Survey*, June 27, 1951.  
 JOHN USEEM. Structure of Power in Palau. *Social Forces*, Dec., 1950.  
 AMRY VANDENBOSCH. Thailand, the Test Case. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Winter, 1951.  
 CHARLES WOLF, JR. Political Effect of Economic Development [in Southeast Asia]. *Far Eastern Survey*, May 2, 1951.

## United States History

Wood Gray<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL

A RAIL SPLITTER FOR PRESIDENT. By *Wayne C. Williams*. (Denver, University of Denver Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 242, \$3.00.) "Who is Lincoln?" questioned bewildered citizens in May, 1860, when they learned that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had nominated a relatively unknown Illinois politician for President. In the next five months there would be many attempts to answer that question. "A giant in intellect as well as stature," Senator Lyman Trumbull called him, but James Gordon Bennett assured his *Herald* readers that Lincoln was "a third-rate western politician." "One of the ablest if not the very ablest political debater on the whole continent," "a sublime obscurity," "the man for the times," "an uneducated man—a vulgar village politician," "a man of tried ability and conservative ideas," "an abolitionist of the reddest dye"—so asserted the politicians, the party hacks, the newspaper pundits. In the light of Lincoln's later fame it is difficult to remember his obscurity in 1860, when even enthusiastic Republicans were uncertain whether their candidate's name was "Abram" or "Abraham." In *A Rail Splitter for President* Wayne C. Williams attempts to show "Lincoln as he was before greatness came to him" by presenting scores of contemporary opinions, culled from more than fifty newspapers published during the campaign summer. Mr. Williams lets his quotations speak for themselves; they are arranged in a roughly topical order and are linked with the thinnest thread of narrative. This little book is not, and does not pretend to be, a major work of historical scholarship. It does not discuss the relation between the newspaper stories here collected and public opinion. Weighty issues of intra-party strategy find little place here. Mr. Williams does not attempt a careful appraisal of social and economic factors affecting the election and does not even refer to major serious studies by Randall, Luthin, Crenshaw, and Nevins. Instead, *A Rail Splitter for President* is a pleasant supplement to all these, and if its well-selected quotations prove no major thesis, they do at least evoke something of the frenetic tone, the feverish atmosphere, the frenzied enthusiasms of one of our most unusual and crucial elections.

DAVID DONALD, *Columbia University*

BERNHARD EDUARD FERNOW: A STORY OF NORTH AMERICAN FORESTRY. By *Andrew Denny Rodgers, III*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. 623, \$7.50.) The author of this volume began his writing career with a biography of his grandfather, William S. Sullivant, a distinguished bryologist (expert on mosses). He has gone on apparently to cover the history of botany in the United

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

States through biographical studies of the leaders in the science. This volume on the founder, or at least organizer and promoter, of forestry is a worthy addition to the volumes before and shares their excellences and limitations. Mr. Rodgers is an enthusiastic but somewhat undisciplined historian. This volume overwhelms both subject and reader with an outpouring, or indiscriminate ingathering, of everything and everybody that touches the subject. The subtitle submerges the main title. Fernow came to this country in 1876 as a rather stiff Prussian, a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War, with a sound training in forestry and forest economy. His older brother, who had come to this country earlier, left a creditable record as a historian of colonial New York and as a contributor to Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*. The younger Fernow was actually not following his brother but rather an attractive young American girl, and the hunch that the new land would offer a career for one with his training. It is true that the late seventies of the nineteenth century reveal a growing awareness of the necessity of forest reservation and preservation. Young Fernow with missionary zeal and a professional training possessed by few in America was soon an attendant and program participant at every gathering where forestry was discussed. Cultured, forceful, and physically commanding, he was the natural leader come at the right time. His career as chief of the division of forestry in the Department of Agriculture, as head of the New York State College of Forestry (Cornell), at Pennsylvania State College, and the University of Toronto gave him an exceptional opportunity to shape policies and a new profession. His influence was multiplied by books, articles, and a guiding hand in every important organization touching his field. He was truly the father of forestry in North America. Around no other figure could one so properly attempt to crystallize the history of the science and the art of forestry. Perhaps one should not be too critical if the writer's span seems sometimes greater than his literary grasp.

G.S.F.

CHARLES SUMNER: AN ESSAY BY CARL SCHURZ. Edited by *Arthur Reed Hogue*. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951, pp. 152, \$2.50.) In 1894 Carl Schurz began to write a biographical essay on Charles Sumner. His source of information was his own memory of their long association in politics and Edward L. Pierce's four-volume biography, the last volume of which had just come off the press. Schurz's first draft of the essay was a rough, sketchy, sixty-eight-page manuscript. Here and there flights of eloquence relieved its raw character. Schurz next took this first draft and began to polish it. Eventually he had ninety-six pages of a highly readable second draft. It failed, however, to complete Sumner's career. For years this known, but incomplete, second draft lay unused in the Library of Congress. The existence of the first draft was not even suspected until 1948 when Hogue discovered it in a Chicago real estate office. The discovery prodded Hogue to forsake his own English law field temporarily for a fling at a bit of Lincolniana. He spliced the two drafts and produced this book. Four fifths of the published text is from the Library of Congress manuscript; one fifth is from Hogue's manuscript. For his part, Editor Hogue has done a masterful job, both in transcribing the holographs and in collating these drafts with Pierce's biography. Except for a short preface and the reference notes to Pierce, Hogue has chosen to leave this bifurcated essay unadorned. The result is a fascinating little biography, whose value, once its attraction is admitted, is hard to determine. It is interesting to read the analysis of one of Sumner's more discerning contemporaries. Yet from the point of view of both information and interpretation, Schurz's effort adds nothing to what is

now known or believed about Sumner. All the biographies of Sumner were produced between 1875 and 1910, and this essay belongs to that era. No really modern scholarship has been brought to bear on Sumner since G. H. Haynes wrote for the "American Crisis" series. Time might show that this essay, inadvertently, is more significant for what it reveals about Schurz than about Sumner. If properly analyzed, this document could be used to gain insight into the knowledge, thinking process, and philosophy of Carl Schurz.

ROBERT J. RAYBACK, *Syracuse University*

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY: BANKER, PHILANTHROPIST, PUBLICIST. By *Louise Ware*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1951, pp. x, 279, \$4.00.) George Foster Peabody was an investment banker who believed in government ownership of railroads; a heavy investor in Mexico who supported Wilson's "watchful waiting"; a practical politician who would abolish armies and navies; an energetic businessman who retired in his fifties; and a romantic idealist who, having lost the one love of his life to another man, ultimately became her second husband just before she died. To explain such a personality is a challenge to the biographer, but the necessary materials were apparently unavailable. For the first forty-eight years of Peabody's life, which covers the period of his business success, there are no letters. For the remainder of his long career there are letter files, but, judging from the results, Miss Ware found them of limited value. The ones cited are of a formal character, and reveal relatively little of Peabody's inward problems. Under the circumstances it might have been better to have concentrated on a more thorough treatment of Peabody in his roles of educational leader, political adviser, pacifist, and philanthropist rather than attempt "to review Mr. Peabody's life in its entirety." To compensate for lack of intimate manuscript material Miss Ware based the biography upon interviews with or letters from Peabody's friends. Such material is a valuable aid to historical research, and one generally slighted by historians who prefer the peaceful atmosphere of libraries to the psychological problems of extracting information from cautious contemporaries. But it is best used as a supplement to the customary types of evidence. An account such as this, that in many sections relies largely on what people have told the author, is almost bound to be thin and highly generalized. To take a fairly typical example, Pierre Jay says that on the Board of the New York Federal Reserve "Peabody made an important contribution to the discussions." Does this remark add much to our understanding of either Peabody or of central banking? The chapters dealing with the last twenty years of Peabody's long life, are, as one might expect under the circumstances, somewhat stronger and richer than those on his earlier career.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN, *University of Pennsylvania*

JOSIAH WILLARD GIBBS: THE HISTORY OF A GREAT MIND. By *Lynde Phelps Wheeler*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. viii, 264, \$4.00.) Josiah Willard Gibbs (1839-1903) was one of the few American scientists of the nineteenth century to rank with the best of his European contemporaries. His great papers on thermodynamics in 1873 and 1878 laid the bases of modern physical chemistry. His important volume on *Statistical Mechanics* of 1902 has grown in stature through the years despite revolutionary changes in physics. Gibbs also published significant work in mathematics (vector analysis) and optics (theory of light). Yet his outward life was singularly uneventful. He was born and raised in New Haven, was educated at Yale, and taught there from 1871 to 1903. Study in Europe from 1866 to 1869 represented his only venture away from his home town.



Lynde Phelps Wheeler was well equipped to undertake the present biography. Formerly an associate professor of physics at Yale and now associated with a firm of engineering consultants, he was a student of Gibbs and later helped edit a volume of Gibbs's early works. He has made admirable use of his limited sources, critically evaluating Gibbs's correspondence and using reminiscences with restraint and intelligence (pp. 84, 109). If he supplements meager evidence with speculation, his speculation is shrewd and well considered (pp. 54 ff.). He has presented his results in a readable if not especially distinguished style. Mr. Wheeler throws light on several interesting aspects of Gibbs's work and character. He points out Gibbs's early shift from applied to theoretical mechanics. He emphasizes Gibbs's power "of abstract reasoning from the fewest possible basic assumptions" (p. 160) and points out that, because of this approach, Gibbs's work remained valuable despite changing ideas of the nature of matter. While Gibbs had very few students, the best of them recalled him as an excellent if demanding teacher. Mr. Wheeler rightly stresses Gibbs's correspondence with some of the leading scientists of his day but also notes that he was never active in scientific societies. Mr. Wheeler's picture of Gibbs as a man shows that his characteristic serenity and happiness came through individual intellectual pursuits and without extensive social contacts. The value of Mr. Wheeler's analysis of Gibbs's scientific contributions will vary with the scientific background of the reader. It makes difficult reading for anyone lacking a sound background in physics, although his discussion of the background to Gibbs's contributions is admirably lucid and relatively nontechnical. Unfortunately, the treatment of Gibbs's influence is very sketchy. While other writers have dealt with this subject, a fairly detailed, nontechnical presentation here would have made the present biography much more useful to the general historian. Mr. Wheeler has done a difficult job well. It is a reflection on the very abstract nature of Gibbs's work and his essentially solitary working habits that this biography will probably be of interest more to the historian of physics than to a person interested in American science as an aspect of American social history.

KENDALL BIRR, *University of Wisconsin*

MY FIRST EIGHTY-THREE YEARS IN AMERICA: THE MEMOIRS OF JAMES W. GERARD. By *James W. Gerard*. (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1951, pp. xi, 372, \$3.50.) It is to be regretted that James W. Gerard, ambassador to Germany during the First World War, did not write his memoirs many years earlier and that he did not dip more deeply into his frequently mentioned diaries, which probably contain information of greater historical value than he has here given. In this book are to be found a plethora of trivia, some errors in fact, and, one suspects, important omissions. Almost half the pages are devoted to Gerard's life in the artificial and expensive New York society of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—a society in which the rich, he says, "avoided ostentation." Mr. Gerard's informal, anecdotal, and slyly humorous narrative does not always compensate for his monotonous recital of his social activities, his empty honors, and his meetings with distinguished people. A competent lawyer, a shrewd businessman, and a life-long Democrat of the conservative brand, this son-in-law of the silver king, Marcus Daly, was an important party man when campaign funds were to be contributed or raised. Yet throughout the ascendancy of Bryan, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, he was usually on the periphery of political power. If he influenced party policy, or if he was seriously interested in doing so, his memoirs do not show it. He was evidently out of step with the principles of his party during its periods of victory. The historian who

expects to find new material on Gerard's ambassadorship to Germany, his most important public experience, will be disappointed. He tells little of significance not already told in his *My Four Years in Germany* (1920). That he was a competent ambassador in handling the mountain of duties dumped upon him when war broke out in Europe is not to be doubted. But it is doubtful that he was always the clear-headed, consistent, and farsighted diplomat who emerges from the book under review. In general Mr. Gerard deals tolerantly with personalities, and his convictions seem honest. He likes Hearst and MacArthur, and regards Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt with some admiration. He dislikes most New Dealers but thinks that "if, today, the mass of the well-to-do people are being taxed to death," they themselves were to blame for having permitted a "band of predatory men in big business" to ignore the rights of stockholders and the public. The House of Morgan receives severe treatment. Mr. Gerard's story of how Morgan men abetted the crash of the Knickerbocker Trust Company will be of real value to scholars of the 1907 panic.

EDWARD YOUNGER, *University of Virginia*

HISTORY OF UNITED STATES NAVAL AVIATION. By *Archibald D. Turnbull*, Captain, USNR, Deputy Director of Naval Records and History, and *Clifford L. Lord*, Lieutenant Commander, USNR, Formerly Head of the Naval Aviation History Unit. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. xii, 345, \$5.00.) The authors have written a useful and scholarly work, complete but not cumbersome. They have steered a true course between a book too full of names and statistics and one too lacking in detail to be serviceable for reference. They have no axes to grind and have written objectively and fairly. Their history of naval aviation treats the subject fully from its unconsidered beginnings through its development up to World War II. The war years are treated briefly, but enough is said to complete the story and indicate the extraordinary expansion and exploits of naval aviation during the conflict. The book is without footnotes but has an excellent bibliography and index; these aids and the detail of the book itself would be adequate to assist anyone doing further research. The work is not an operational history but a story of development: plans, boards, committees, and appropriations. But the authors have skillfully brought in enough of technological detail and of plain human hard work and intrepidity to make it well rounded and readable. Without being dramatic about it, the authors have written a good story of a change from small beginnings to big things. All the elements so familiar to students of any phase of military or naval development are there: the men of vision, seeing a new striking arm for exercising sea power; the conservatives who understandably wanted to go slow; the enthusiastic and the apathetic; the unwilling legislatures; the independents who wanted autonomy and those who thought the old organization would serve new needs; and the inventors who by 1912 had the prototypes of nearly everything which we consider modern. The story of the Navy-Curtiss pioneer seaplane flight across the Atlantic in 1919 is well told, as is that of the famous bombing tests on old battleships in the General Billy Mitchell era, 1921-24. The authors have rendered their best contribution in keeping green the memory of the men who took the risks, to life and to career, of flying museum-pieces and working for small rewards in a new service.

HARDIN CRAIG, JR., *Rice Institute*

FEDERAL RECORDS OF WORLD WAR II. Volume I, CIVILIAN AGENCIES. Volume II, MILITARY AGENCIES. [National Archives Publications 51-7 and 51-8.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950, 1951, pp. xii, 1073, iii, 1061. \$2.50 ea.) Never before so soon after the end of a world war has there been pub-

lished a comprehensive guide to the records of that war for one of the major participating governments. Never before, indeed, has there been published anywhere or at any time so thorough and so complete a guide to any very large body of records. Most of the credit for this splendid achievement must rightly go to Dr. Philip M. Hamer of the National Archives staff, who, according to the introduction to the guide, "was responsible for planning, supervising, and directing the work," heading a staff that at one time or another included no less than thirty-seven professional employees, in addition to several clerical workers. The project may be compared to the old WPA Survey of Federal Archives (also headed for a time by Dr. Hamer), except that fortunately this one was staffed by professionals rather than by relief workers, was concentrated in Washington, and did not have to contend with the endless red tape of WPA. Volume I covers the so-called civilian agencies, Volume II the military agencies. The method followed is to describe the organizational setup and functions of the various agencies, including each component part. Since the primary concern is with the records, there is for each subdivision a separate section on that subject. The volumes will prove useful to government employees and unofficial researchers needing data on government agencies that took part in the war program and especially to those researchers who are to make use of the records of those agencies. Throughout, appropriate references are included and a detailed and apparently thorough index at the end of each volume (the latter index covering both volumes) enhances the value of the work.

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *Raleigh, N.C.*

PUBLIC OPINION, 1935-1946. Edited by *Hadley Cantril*. Prepared by *Mildred Strunk*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. lix, 1191, \$25.00.) The title of this enormous volume is rather misleading, though only a cynic, perhaps, would suggest that it reflects the congenital characteristic of institutes of public opinion polls to make exaggerated claims for their "scientific tool," such, for example, as that of equating "public opinion" with "public opinion polls." A more proper title would have been "Public Opinion Polls, 1935-1946," for, excluding the elaborate index and the few pages of prefatory and introductory material, the volume presents the results of innumerable public opinion polls, on almost "everything under the sun," collected from twenty-three organizations in sixteen countries during that period. Comforting as this compilation may be to the pollsters, it will, in all probability, strengthen the case of their critics.

GAUDENS MEGARO, *Queens College*

#### ARTICLES

- DEXTER PERKINS. American Wars and Critical Historians. *Yale Rev.*, Summer, 1951.
- H. M. KALLEN. In Remembrance of Charles Beard, Philosopher-Historian. *Social Research*, June, 1951.
- CARLTON C. QUALEY. Recent Scholarship and Interpretations in American History. *Social Educ.*, May, 1951.
- RICHARD H. SHRYOCK. Changing Perspectives in Local History. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Spring, 1951.
- FRANK WEITENKAMPF. Bypaths in Documentation: Added Material for United States History [contemporary pictures]. *New York Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- ELLEN STARR BRINTON. Archives of Causes and Movements: Difficulties and Some Solutions as Illustrated by the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. *Am. Archivist*, Apr., 1951.
- HENRY J. BROWNE. The American Catholic Archival Tradition. *Ibid.*
- MEREDITH B. COLKET, JR. The American University's First Institute in Genealogical Research. *Ibid.*
- NEWMAN BUMSTEAD. A Map Maker Looks at the United States. *Nat'l Geog. Mag.*, June, 1951.

- JOHN DUFFY. The Passage to the Colonies [shipboard diseases]. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- HAROLD T. PINKETT. Development and Utilization of Power in the Paper Industry, 1690-1870. *Bull. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Dept. of Internal Affairs*, Feb., 1951.
- ERNEST H. PRIEST, LUTA M. SEWELL, and LESTER J. CAPPON. Creation of Records: The Program of Colonial Williamsburg. *Am. Archivist*, Apr., 1951.
- PAUL A. W. WALLACE. They Knew the Indian: The Men Who Wrote the Moravian Records. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCV, no. 3, 1951.
- ERNST BENZ. The Pietist and Puritan Sources of Early Protestant World Missions [Cotton Mather and A. H. Francke]. *Church Hist.*, June, 1951.
- LYMAN W. RILEY and FREDERICK B. TOLLES. Guide to the Location of American Quaker Meeting Records. *Bull. Friends Hist. Assn.*, Spring, 1951.
- FREDERICK B. TOLLES. The Transatlantic Quaker Community in the Seventeenth Century. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1951.
- WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR. The Reverend Mr. Joseph Morgan, an American Correspondent of the Royal Society, 1732-1739. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCV, no. 3, 1951.
- LINDEN F. EDWARDS. Resurrection Riots during the Heroic Age of Anatomy in America. *Bull. Hist. Medicine*, Mar.-Apr., 1951.
- EDWARD H. DAVIDSON. Franklin and [Dr. William] Brownrigg. *Am. Literature*, Mar., 1951.
- ALBERT B. SOUTHWICK. The Molasses Act—a Source of Precedents. *William and Mary Quar.*, July, 1951.
- JOHN A. SCHUTZ. The Disaster of Fort Ticonderoga: The Shortage of Muskets during the Mobilization of 1758. *Huntington Lib. Quar.*, May, 1951.
- O. M. DICKERSON. The Attempt to Extend British Customs Controls over Intercolonial Commerce by Land. *South Atlantic Quar.*, July, 1951.
- JOHN F. ROCHE. Was Joseph Reed Disloyal? *William and Mary Quar.*, July, 1951.
- BROADUS MITCHELL. The Man Who Discovered Hamilton [Rev. Hugh Knox]. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, Apr., 1951.
- WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH. Notable Letters and Papers relating to (1) Early American Diplomacy and Winning the Peace, (2) Darwinism and the Great Revolution in Science, (3) a New Franklin Letter to Jane Mecom, and (4) Dr. Rush to Patrick Henry. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCV, no. 3, 1951.
- LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD. Dr. Rush to Governor Henry on the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Constitution. *Ibid.*
- W. H. NELSON. The Last Hopes of the American Loyalists. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Mar., 1951.
- R. D. BILLINGER. History and Development of the Anthracite Industry [cont.]. *Bull. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Dept. of Internal Affairs*, Feb., 1951.
- MARTIN LEVEY. The First American Museum of Natural History [Pierre Eugene Du Simitière; Philadelphia, 1782]. *Isis*, Apr., 1951.
- LÉON REY (trans. and ed. by KENT FORSTER). Crèvecoeur and the First Franco-American Packet Line [1783-84]. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- ROBERT F. DURDEN. Joel Barlow in the French Revolution. *William and Mary Quar.*, July, 1951.
- ROLAND BAUGHMAN. Washington's Manuscript Diaries of 1795 and 1798. *Papers Bibliog. Soc. Am.*, 2d Quar., 1951.
- EUGENE S. FERGUSON. Mr. Jefferson's Dry Docks. *Am. Neptune*, Apr., 1951.
- VEDDER MORRIS GILBERT. The Stage Career of John Howard Payne, Author of "Home, Sweet Home." *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, Winter, 1950-51.
- FRED KNIFFEN. The American Agricultural Fair: Time and Place. *Ann. Assn. Am. Geographers*, Mar., 1951.
- THOMAS D. CLARK. The Country Store in American Social History. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- JOSEPH DORFMAN. A Note on Interpenetration of Anglo-American Finance, 1837-1841. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Spring, 1951.
- WILSON G. SMILLIE. An Early Prepayment Plan for Medical Care: The Thomsonian [Samuel Thomson, 1769-1843] System of Botanical Medicine. *Jour. Hist. Medicine and Allied Sci.*, Spring, 1951.

- HOWARD D. KRAMER. An Ohio Doctor in the Early Navy [1832-44]. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- EARL C. TANNER. The Voyage of the *Mercury* [to the west coast of South America, 1820-25; cont.]. *Rhode Island Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- CHESTER A. BAIN. Commodore Matthew Perry, Humphrey Marshall, and the Taiping Rebellion. *Far Eastern Quar.*, May, 1951.
- NEVILLE T. KIRK. The Origins of American Naval Photography. *U.S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, June, 1951.
- JOHN EMMETT BURKE. Andrew Jackson as Seen by Foreigners. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Mar., 1951.
- HOWARD R. MARRARO. Auguste Davezac's Mission to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, 1833-1834. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Oct., 1949.
- HENRY K. SIEBENECK. John Tyler: Our First Accidental President [cont.]. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, Mar., 1951.
- MATTHEW A. FITZSIMONS. Calhoun's Bid for the Presidency, 1841-1844. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- JAMES GROSSMAN. James Fenimore Cooper: An Uneasy American. *Yale Rev.*, Summer, 1951.
- CHARLES A. FENTON. "The Bell-Tower": Melville and Technology [1856]. *Am. Literature*, May, 1951.
- C. HUGH HOLMAN. The Influence of Scott and Cooper on Simms. *Ibid.*
- SIDNEY KAPLAN. The *Moby Dick* in the Service of the Underground Railroad. *Phylon*, 2d Quar., 1951.
- ARMISTEAD SCOTT PRIDE. Negro Newspapers: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. *Journalism Quar.*, Spring, 1951.
- Id.* The Negro Newspaper: Voice of a Minority [1827-]. *Midwest Jour.*, Winter, 1950-51.
- PAUL W. GATES. The Struggle for Land and the "Irrepressible Conflict." *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- JUSTUS BIER. Carl C. Brenner, a German American Landscapist [1838-88]. *Am. German Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- ARTHUR REED HOGUE. The Private Papers of Carl Schurz. *Ibid.*
- PIETER GEYL. The American Civil War and the Problem of Inevitability. *New Eng. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- WILLIAM G. CARLETON. Sources of the Lincoln Legend. *Prairie Schooner*, Summer, 1951.
- REINHARD H. LUTHIN. Lincoln and the American Tradition. *Midwest Jour.*, Winter, 1950-51.
- J. G. RANDALL. Lincoln and the Governance of Men. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, June, 1951.
- ROY P. BASLER. Isaac Harvey or Samuel Haddam [alleged Lincoln note]. *Ibid.*
- M. HAMLIN CANNON. The United States Christian Commission. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- EDWARD D. SNYDER. Biblical Background of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." *New Eng. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- DAVID RANKIN BARBEE. Dr. [John Joseph] Craven's "Prison Life of Jefferson Davis"—an Exposé. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Apr., 1951.
- THOMAS A. BAILEY. The Russian Fleet Myth Re-examined. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- E. LEE DORSETT. Around the World for Seals: The Voyage of the Two-Masted Schooner *Sarah W. Hunt* from New Bedford to Campbell Island, 1883-1884. *Am. Neptune*, Apr., 1951.
- ANDREW DENNY RODGERS, III. Portrait: Liberty Hyde Bailey. *Am. Scholar*, Summer, 1951.
- RICHARD N. CURRENT. Technology and Promotion: The Typewriter. *Bull. Bus. Hist. Soc.*, June, 1951.
- RENDIGS FELS. American Business Cycles, 1865-79. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- ALFRED B. LINDLEY. The Copper Tariff of 1869. *Michigan Hist.*, Mar., 1951.
- ARTHUR M. ROSS and DONALD IRWIN. Strike Experience in Five Countries, 1927-1947: An Interpretation [Australia, Canada, Great Britain, Sweden, U.S.]. *Industrial and Labor Relations Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- VERNON H. JENSEN. The Legend of Joe Hill. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT D. LEITER. Federal Regulation of Child Labor. *Am. Jour. Ec. and Sociol.*, Apr., 1951.
- ROBERT B. DISHMAN. Mr. Justice White and the Rule of Reason. *Rev. Politics*, Apr., 1951.

- SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS. The Scandal That Killed a Sport [single-scutt racing, 1879]. *Holiday*, Aug., 1951.
- MARC KARSON. The Catholic Church and the Political Development of American Trade Unionism (1900-1918). *Industrial and Labor Relations Rev.*, July, 1951.
- CARL M. ROSENQUIST and S. THOMAS FRIEDMAN. Jewish Population Trends in the United States. *Social Research*, June, 1951.
- ABRAHAM CRONBACH. Jewish Pioneering in American Social Welfare. *Am. Jewish Archives*, June, 1951.
- OSCAR HANDLIN. American Views of the Jew at the Opening of the Twentieth Century. *Pubs. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, June, 1951.
- STEPHEN BLOORE. The Jew in American Dramatic Literature (1794-1930). *Ibid.*
- NAOMI WIENER COHEN. The Reaction of Reform Judaism in America to Political Zionism (1897-1922). *Ibid.*
- JOHN BIESANZ and LUKE M. SMITH. Race Relations in Panama and the Canal Zone. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, July, 1951.
- MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS. The Present Status and Needs of Afroamerican Research. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- JACK ABRAMOWITZ. John B. Rayner—a Grass-Roots Leader. *Ibid.*
- JOHN L. SNELL. Benedict XV, Wilson, Michaelis, and German Socialism [peace proposals, 1917]. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- JOHN M. BLUM. Nativism, Anti-Radicalism, and the Foreign Scare, 1917-1920. *Midwest Jour.*, Winter, 1950-51.
- JAMES H. SHIDELER. The Disintegration of the Progressive Party Movement of 1924. *Historian*, Spring, 1951.
- ROBERT E. MARTIN. The Referendum Process in the Agricultural Adjustment Programs of the United States. *Agric. Hist.*, Jan., 1951.
- W. H. RUSSELL. The Genesis of FMF Doctrine, 1879-1899 [concl.]. *Marine Corps Gazette*, Apr.-July, 1951.
- WALTER D. EDMONDS. What Happened at Clark Field [1941]. *Atlantic*, July, 1951.
- JAMES C. SHAW. The Rise and Ruin of Rabaul. *U.S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, June, 1951.
- RATHVON MCC. TOMPKINS. The Bridge [Arnhem, 1944]. *Marine Corps Gazette*, May, 1951.
- W. R. SENDALL. The Battle of the Dyke [Holland, 1944]. *Ibid.*
- TED PETERSON and JAY W. JENSEN. The Case of General Yamashita: A Study of Suppression. *Journalism Quar.*, Spring, 1951.
- JOHN F. MELBY. Phoenix in the Philippines. *Am. For. Serv. Jour.*, June, 1951.
- LYNN MONTROSS. The Pusan Perimeter. *Marine Corps Gazette*, June, 1951.
- Id.* The Inchon Landing. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- H. A. DEWEERD. Lessons of the Korean War. *Yale Rev.*, Summer, 1951.
- THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY. Lessons from Korea. *Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, July, 1951.
- MARGUERITE J. FISHER. Equal Rights by Constitutional Amendment. *Social Sci.*, June, 1951.
- LEONARD PRICE STAVISKY. Civil Rights and the Party System. *Midwest Jour.*, Winter, 1950-51.
- LEO PFEFFER, *et al.* The Supreme Court as Protector of Civil Rights. *Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, May, 1951.
- EDWARD C. KIRKLAND. Do Antisubversive Efforts Threaten Academic Freedom? *Ibid.*
- ISRAEL T. NAAMANI. The "Anglo-Saxon Idea" and British Public Opinion. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Mar., 1951.

## DOCUMENTS

- BRISOUT DE BARNEVILLE. Journal de guerre, mai 1780-octobre 1781. *French Am. Rev.*, Oct.-Dec., 1950.
- GEORGE ROSEN. An American Doctor in Paris in 1828: Selections from the Diary of Peter Solomon Townsend, M.D. [concl.]. *Jour. Hist. Medicine and Allied Sci.*, Spring, 1951.
- WILLIAM BELL CLARK. Journal of the Ship *Empress of China* [1784-85; concl.]. *Am. Neptune*, Apr., 1951.
- HENRY F. GRAFF. Bluejackets with Perry in Japan: A Day-by-Day Account Kept by Master's



- Mate John R. C. Lewis and Cabin Boy William B. Allen [concl.]. *Bull. New York Pub. Lib.*, Mar.-July, 1951.
- ROY F. NICHOLS. The Missing Diaries of George Mifflin Dallas [1856-57, ministry to Great Britain]. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July, 1951.
- RICHARD BARKSDALE HARWELL. The Creed of a Propagandist: Letter from a Confederate Editor [Henry Hotze, 1864]. *Journalism Quar.*, Spring, 1951.
- RANDOLPH C. DOWNES. An American Art Student Abroad: Selections from the Letters of Karl Kappes, 1883-85. *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, Winter, 1950-51.
- TODD L. WAGONER. Fighting Aguinaldo's Insurgents in the Philippines. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, May, 1951.
- R. S. G. HALL. Behind Enemy Lines [Italy, 1944]. *Atlantic*, June, 1951.

# NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

EARLY NEW ENGLAND POTTERS AND THEIR WARES. By *Lura Woodside Watkins*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. x, 291, plates, \$10.00.) This is probably as nearly definitive a volume, relative to its subject matter, as will be written. Mrs. Watkins has told the story of the several hundred potters who thrived in New England during the first three centuries of its growth. She points out that in colonial days a potter's shop was to be found in nearly every town of any consequence. The average social and economic historian would not have supposed this, for the historical records make little mention of them. Furthermore, collections of New England antiques are full of woodenware and pewter, and we have been misled by the survival of these more durable pieces into supposing that they monopolized the field of craft production and domestic use. The author, however, has compiled a list of more than 250 potters working before 1800, and 500 before 1850. The volume is exhaustive—and for the reader (as distinct from the researcher or collector) often exhausting. It is not primarily for the general reader, whose interest begins to lag shortly after the first chapters as he bogs down in the somewhat repetitious accounting of the growth and decline of the many potters. The text would have been helped, from his point of view, by more synthesis in the various segments of the book. But the weight of detail which bears so heavily on the reader will make the volume an authoritative one for the researcher and collector. The principal criticism of the volume may be leveled not against the author but the publisher (a university press, at that). In perhaps no other kind of a book is the close association of textual and pictorial material more important. The publisher, with cavalier disregard of this rather obvious fact, has lumped all the illustrations in the back of the book. It is true that the text seems to be printed by letterpress and the illustrations by offset, but even so it would have been possible to intermix the signatures and even perhaps manage a few wrap-arounds. But it would be better if publishers would select one process or the other and then lay out the book to put the illustrations immediately alongside the text descriptive of them. Apart from this reservation, however, the volume is a handsome one, with a wealth of illustrations, an important check list of potters, a complete bibliography, and an extensive and careful index.

EARLE W. NEWTON, *Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts*

DEMOCRACY FIGHTS: A HISTORY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE IN WORLD WAR II. By *Philip N. Guyol*. (Hanover, Dartmouth Publications for the State of New Hampshire, 1951, pp. xix, 309, \$3.00.) This volume may be briefly characterized as a model among histories of state participation in World War II. The Dartmouth College Publications has given it a format of which any press might well be proud. G.S.F.

## ARTICLES

- SIGMUND DIAMOND. Norumbega: New England Xanadu. *Am. Neptune*, Apr., 1951.
- JOSEPH DOWNS. Three Early New England Rooms. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- H. J. CONANT. Imprisonment for Debt in Vermont: A History. *Vermont Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- W. T. BAXTER. A Colonial Bankrupt: Ebenezer Hancock, 1741-1819. *Bull. Bus. Hist. Soc.*, June, 1951.
- THOMAS P. MONAHAN. One Hundred Years of Marriages in Massachusetts. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, May, 1951.
- HENRY J. CADBURY. Religious Books at Harvard. *Harvard Lib. Bull.*, Spring, 1951.
- CAROLINE ROBBINS. Library of Liberty—Assembled for Harvard College by Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn [concl.]. *Ibid.*
- EDWIN S. GAUSTAD. Charles Chauncy and the Great Awakening: A Survey and Bibliography. *Papers Bibliog. Soc. Am.*, 2d Quar., 1951.
- CYCLONE COVEY. Puritanism and Music in Colonial America. *William and Mary Quar.*, July, 1951.
- ELIZABETH WADE WHITE. The Tenth Muse—a Tercentenary Appraisal of Anne Bradstreet. *Ibid.*
- ROBERT J. TAYLOR. Israel Mauduit [1708-87; Tory]. *New Eng. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- RICHARD G. HEWLETT. Josiah Quincy, Reform Mayor of Boston [1872-64]. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES J. KENNEDY. The Early Business History of Four Massachusetts Railroads [cont.]. *Bull. Bus. Hist. Soc.*, June, 1951.
- ROBERT W. LOVETT. Squire Rantoul and His Drug Store, 1796-1824. *Ibid.*
- M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE and G. W. COTTRELL, JR. The Scholar-Friends: Francis James Child and James Russell Lowell. *Harvard Lib. Bull.*, Spring, 1951.
- VIVIAN C. HOPKINS. Emerson and Cudworth: Plastic Nature and Transcendental Art. *Am. Literature*, Mar., 1951.
- EDWARD JOHN POWER. Orestes A. Brownson [1803-76]. *Recs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, June, 1951.
- JOHN T. FARRELL. The Early History of Rhode Island's Court System. *Rhode Island Hist.*, Oct., 1950, Jan., 1951.
- BRUCE INGHAM GRANGER. John Trumbull and Religion. *Am. Literature*, Mar., 1951.
- WILLIAM N. FENTON. Iroquois Studies at the Mid-Century. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCV, no. 3, 1951.
- JOHN WITTHOFT. Iroquois Archeology at the Mid-Century. *Ibid.*
- SUSAN SAWITZKY. Thomas McIlworth [painter] (active 1758 to c. 1769). *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS. Portraits in the Prentis Collection. *Ibid.*
- Id.* Gold and Silver in the Prentis Collection. *Ibid.*
- HOLMAN J. SWINNEY. New York State Gunmakers [concl.]. *New York Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- LYNTON K. CALDWELL. George Clinton—Democratic Administrator. *Ibid.*
- EDITH M. FOX. The Genesis of Cornell University's Collection of Regional History. *Am. Archivist*, Apr., 1951.
- JOHN R. SLATER. The First Hundred Years of the University of Rochester. *New York Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- EARLE W. HUCKEL. "Montpelier," the Home of Commodore Charles Stewart. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, Apr., 1951.
- CHARLES F. CAPALDO. Bergen County's Copperhead [Eben Winton]. *Ibid.*
- MELVILLE J. BOYER. Pennsylvania History: A Seventeen-Inch Shelf. A Suggestion to Teachers of Pennsylvania History. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, July, 1951.
- WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR. Thomas Parke's Student Life in England and Scotland, 1771-1773. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July, 1951.
- CHARLES E. PETERSON. Library Hall: Home of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1790-1880. *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, XCV, no. 3, 1951.
- THOMAS D. COPE. Some Contacts of Benjamin Franklin with Mason and Dixon and their Work. *Ibid.*
- EDWARD M. RILEY. The Deborah Franklin Correspondence. *Ibid.*

- ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT. Dr. William Smith, David Rittenhouse, and the Canal Plate, September 7, 1777. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS. Sellers Papers in the Peale-Sellers Collection. *Ibid.*
- FREDERICK B. TOLLES. George Logan, Agrarian Democrat: A Survey of His Writings. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July, 1951.
- J. ALBERT ROBBINS. George R. Graham, Philadelphia Publisher. *Ibid.*
- GUY FRÉGAULT [trans. by Donald H. Kent]. The Epoch of the Belle Riviere [Duquesne's expedition, 1752]. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, July, 1951.
- WILLIAM A. HUNTER. Provincial Negotiations with the Western Indians, 1754-58. *Ibid.*
- ALFRED P. JAMES. The Role of Virginia and Virginians in the Early History of Southwestern Pennsylvania. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, Mar., 1951.
- CHARLES SHETLER. James O'Hara's Landholdings in Allegheny County. *Ibid.*
- HARVEY B. GAUL. The Minstrel of the Alleghenies [Stephen Collins Foster; cont.]. *Ibid.*

## DOCUMENTS

- JOSEPH B. BERRY. Ward Chipman Diary: A Loyalist's Return to New England in 1783. *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, July, 1951.
- ELMA LOINES. Francis Low, a Salem Youth Dies on Board Ship in the China Sea [1836]. *Ibid.*
- ABRAM VOSSEN GOODMAN. A Jewish Peddler's Diary, 1842-1843 [Abraham Kohn]. *Am. Jewish Archives*, June, 1951.
- MRS. FREDERICK C. MUNROE. The Daily Life of Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman on a Trip to Manila [1845-46]. *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, July, 1951.
- CLARKSON A. COLLINS, 3rd. Pictures of Providence in the Past, 1790-1820: The Reminiscences of Walter R. Danforth [cont.]. *Rhode Island Hist.*, Jan., Apr., 1951.
- ELMER EUGENE BARKER. Letters of Charles Franklin Hammond to His Son John, 1849-1850 [concl.]. *New York Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- Calvin Green's Diary—The Life of Calvin Green [1765-1847]. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, Apr., 1951.
- HENRY J. CADBURY. Earliest Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting [1681-85]. *Bull. Friends Hist. Assn.*, Spring, 1951.
- ROY G. FITZGERALD. A Perplexing Problem of History [Fort Necessity, 1754]. *Bull. Hist. and Philos. Soc. Ohio*, July, 1951.
- JAMES L. WHITEHEAD. The Mission of Franklin Peale to Europe, 1833 to 1835 [for the U.S. Mint]. *Pennsylvania Hist.*, July, 1951.

## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE COLONIAL RECORDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA. Volume I, THE JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, NOVEMBER 10, 1736-JUNE 7, 1739. Edited by J. H. Easterby. (Columbia, Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1951, pp. xii, 764.) This stately volume inaugurates the program of the South Carolina Historical Commission, under Mr. Easterby's energetic direction, to publish all the colonial records of South Carolina in a form commensurate with their importance. Those records are remarkably complete, but "less than five per cent" have been made available since the commission was empowered to print them early in this century. About fifty volumes of the present size, it is estimated, will be required to do the job, and the commission can then turn to the records of South Carolina as a state. The plan is to begin with the journals of the lower house of the legislature at the point where the journals already issued by the commission, in a somewhat irregular session-per-volume series, stop; to carry the new series to the Revolution; and then to go back and republish the earlier journals, filling in the gaps that were left and making the entire run of Commons House Journals available in a uniform style. These will be followed by the journals of the council or upper house, the

voluminous South Carolina documents in the British Public Record Office, and other surviving manuscript records. "The format of *The Colonial Records*," says the editor, "has been designed with a view to durability, economy of space, ease of use, and appropriateness to the subject matter." This first volume fulfills these requirements admirably. Users will be grateful for the sensible styling of the text itself, which does not try to simulate the manuscript and presents an uncluttered, readable page. They will be grateful also for the restrained but helpful annotation and the carefully prepared index. They will agree, in short, that the editing is exemplary. The contents of the volume for 1736-1739 will not startle anyone who has worked with the records of other colonies at this period. Measures of defense and finance, the improvement of land and water communications, relations with the Indians—these are the dominant matters of legislative concern. Most engrossing in 1736-1737 were the contentions with Georgia over that new colony's attempt to monopolize the trade with the Creek Indians. And in the spring of 1739 the commons house engaged in a protracted dispute with the council on the question whether the latter had a right to alter a money bill. In the messages exchanged between the two houses that spring, sarcasm reached a high degree of refinement in South Carolina, and there were also moments of eloquence that foreshadowed the great debate preceding the Revolution.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD, *Institute of Early American History and Culture*

THE PAPERS OF WILLIE PERSON MANGUM. Edited by *Henry Thomas Shanks*. Volume I, 1807-1832. (Raleigh, N.C., State Department of Archives and History, 1950, pp. lx, 613.) Along with the unabated reworking and publishing of the records of the American presidents there should be parallel attention to the papers of the secondary political figures. There has been too little of the latter. Historians should commend the editor and the publisher for undertaking the publication of the Mangum papers, and should encourage them to complete the task. Professor Shanks is carrying on the studies on Mangum started by several others whose projects were halted by death, including those of Stephen B. Weeks and William K. Boyd. Willie P. Mangum (1792-1861) was a distinguished political leader of North Carolina, a national leader of the Whig party, and twice was offered but declined that party's nomination for the vice-presidency. After breaking with Jackson he received the electoral vote of South Carolina for President in 1836. Member of the Senate for three terms, he was president *pro tempore* of that body in Tyler's administration and thus was in line for succession to the presidency. This volume, the first of an anticipated four, covers the period from 1807 through 1832. The editor draws on the collections of Mangum papers in the Library of Congress, the libraries of Duke University and the University of North Carolina, and those of Mangum descendants. Included are letters from Lewis Cass, Louis McLane, James Iredell, Nathaniel Macon, Romulus M. Saunders, William Polk, Bartlett Yancey, and others of contemporary prominence. No letters are found in this volume from the presidents or from Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, although there is much comment in other letters on all these men. Some insight may be gained about the presidential elections of 1824, 1828, and 1832, while the attitudes of various groups and persons on such issues as the tariff, the Bank, and nullification are revealed. The volume contains a biographical sketch of Mangum; a chronology of his life; a list of documents reproduced in the volume; a calendar of documents omitted; several illustrations, including maps; a good index; and footnote identifications. The editorial work appears to have been painstakingly careful. The regrettable fact, which the editor himself points out, is the paucity of letters from Mangum; in this volume they represent only about one seventh of the total. Those

that are printed have much interest and value, including some of those to his wife. Professor Shanks avows his hope of discovering more Mangum letters before the later volumes are completed.

CULVER H. SMITH, *University of Chattanooga*

**THE HISTORY OF RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE: FROM THE FOUNDING IN 1891 THROUGH THE YEAR OF 1949-1950.** By *Roberta D. Cornelius*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951, pp. xviii, 428, \$6.00.) This volume deserves mention among the many of its kind now appearing as one of the better and more detailed college histories. For all but alumnae and patrons of Randolph-Macon Woman's College it is too detailed. To them, however, the trivia of each passing year and its functions will undoubtedly revive some pleasant memories. The volume properly gives high place to two fine scholars and gentlemen and devoted servants of the college, William Waugh Smith, first president and founder, and Theodore H. Jack, who came as president in 1933 and is now closing his distinguished career. In its sixty years the college has maintained high standards and a place among the better colleges for women in the country. The volume is a credit to the institution, the author, and its publishers.

G.S.F.

**COLLEGE LIFE AT OLD OGLETHORPE.** By *Allen P. Tankersley*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1951, pp. xiv, 184, \$3.00.) Old Oglethorpe played no very great role in the ante-bellum South. It was a small, hide-bound Presbyterian institution with a small, poorly paid, or unpaid faculty. The struggle to survive was the chief concern of trustees and officers. It did have at times such staff members as Joseph Le Conte and Dr. James Woodrow and, briefly, Sidney Lanier. The value and interest of this volume is derived from the picture of student and campus life and customs in a typical ante-bellum denominational college. This was the task the author set himself, and he has achieved it.

G.S.F.

**JAMES HARROD OF KENTUCKY.** By *Kathryn Harrod Mason*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1951, pp. xxii, 266, \$4.00.) James Harrod, one of a dozen children, was born in the Shenandoah Valley, probably about 1745. At least he was old enough to take part in the French and Indian War. Subsequently he fought in Lord Dunmore's War and in numerous engagements with the Indians before, as well as after, going to Kentucky, where he started the first English settlement, Harrodsburg, and played an important part in establishing the commonwealth. Not as well publicized in his time as were Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark, he was nevertheless equally as important in the development of this new West. He was distinctly a product of the frontier, a hunter, a woodsman, and an Indian fighter. Like Boone he was not much interested in statecraft; like Boone he became much entangled in conflicting land claims; but unlike Boone he was able to maintain ownership in large Kentucky holdings. The lure of the forests had an inexorable hold on him to the end; for it was on one of his journeys into eastern Kentucky, in search of the elusive Swift's Silver Mine as well as for beaver pelts, that he disappeared, never to be heard from again. Probably he was murdered by an old enemy. Around Harrod clusters much Kentucky history, from the time he founded Harrodsburg to his death in 1792. Mrs. Kathryn Harrod Mason, a descendant of the Harrod family, has worked with skill through the voluminous Draper Collection, the Durrett Collection, and in other manuscript materials, and has used effectively most of the related printed sources. In this book she has made a valuable contribution to the literature on the westward movement in American history, but she has not suc-

ceeded in bringing James Harrod to life, though she became familiar enough with him to call him Jim most of the time. So much of the book is concerned with James's brothers, as was fitting, that it seems the title might better have been "The Harrods of Kentucky."

E. MERTON COULTER, *University of Georgia*

**THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY: ORIGINS AND EARLY YEARS.** By *James F. Hopkins*. (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1951, pp. ix, 305, \$4.00.) This history of public higher education in Kentucky down to 1911 has certain defects, but it is infinitely superior to the college "histories" prepared by amateurish alumni, uneducated publicity agents, and uncritical emeriti. The author is a trained and discriminating scholar whose sincerity and purposefulness create a clear image of an institution. Professor Hopkins has performed a useful service in tracing summarily the history of predecessor institutions, public and private, in Kentucky. The story is significant for the light it throws on the complex relationships of church and state and on sectarian competition. Not until 1879 did the state completely separate the land-grant college from the denominational institution with which it had been affiliated. Kentucky State College before 1910 was typical of the primitive state colleges. The parsimony of the legislature, the apathy of the farmers, and the hostility of some sects conspired to keep it a weak and timid institution. Staffed by recruits from the classical colleges, and headed for forty-one years by a bigoted autocrat, the college during the nineteenth century was little more than a facsimile and competitor of the church-related schools. Its officers were incredibly slow in grasping the simple reality that to escape from this vacuity the college needed thorough research to develop a program of teaching that would respond to other needs of the state. President Patterson often complained that few would study agriculture, but it seems not to have occurred to him that the course offered was not worth taking. Veterinary medicine, for example, was neglected and in animal husbandry (an industry not unknown in Kentucky) the college did nothing until 1905. This reviewer has said elsewhere that the history of a college is properly intellectual history, and that the historian should attempt to reconstruct the ideas and values held on a particular campus. Mr. Hopkins has essayed, instead, the biography of an institution. It is only fair, however, to say that the shallowness of his subject gave him little occasion for intellectual analysis. His is an honest book and a valuable case study for the ultimate synthesis of the history of higher education in America.

THOMAS LEDUC, *Oberlin College*

#### ARTICLES

- RAVEN I. McDAVID, JR., and VIRGINIA GLENN McDAVID. The Relationship of the Speech of American Negroes to the Speech of Whites. *Am. Speech*, Feb., 1951.
- FRANK E. VANDIVER. Makeshifts of Confederate Ordnance. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May, 1951.
- ROBERT R. ELLIS. The Confederate Corps of Engineers [concl.]. *Military Engineer*, Mar.-Apr., May-June, 1951.
- CEDRIC OKELL REYNOLDS. The Postal System of the Southern Confederacy. *West Virginia Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- ROBERT D. LITTLE. Southern Historians and the Downfall of the Confederacy [concl.]. *Alabama Rev.*, Jan., 1951.
- VINCENT P. DE SANTIS. Negro Dissatisfaction with Republican Policy in the South, 1882-1884. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- ARTHUR S. LINK. The South and the New Freedom: An Interpretation. *Am. Scholar*, Summer, 1951.
- R. BRUCE HARLEY. Dr. Charles Carroll, Land Speculator, 1730-1755. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June, 1951.



- RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR. The Abbey, or Ringgold House, at Chestertown, Maryland. *Ibid.*
- JAMES BORDLEY, JR. New Light on William Buckland. *Ibid.*
- NICHOLAS JOOST. "Plain-Dealer" and *Free-Thinker*: A Revaluation [*Maryland Gazette*]. *Am. Literature*, Mar., 1951.
- DAVID RANKIN BARBEE. Lincoln, Chase, and the Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June, 1951.
- WILLIAM B. MARYE. Commentary on Certain Words and Expressions Used in Maryland. *Ibid.*
- J. LUTHER KIBLER. Governors of Virginia [concl.]. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Apr., 1951.
- SEYMOUR V. CONNOR. Sir Samuel Argall: A Biographical Sketch [c. 1580-1626]. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr., 1951.
- ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN. Wolf Trap: The Baptism of a Chesapeake Bay Shoal [1691]. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM H. GAINES, JR. Master John Rolfe, Husbandman. *Virginia Cavalcade*, Summer, 1951.
- Id.* Some Called It Treason: A Narrative of the Tobacco Riots in the New York-Rappahannock Counties of the Virginia Colony during the Spring and Summer of 1862. *Ibid.*
- ELIZABETH DABNEY COLEMAN. George Mason, Spokesman for Human Rights. *Ibid.*
- HILDA NOEL SCHROETTER. Georgian Gem: George Mason's "Gunston Hall." *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. The Virginia Declaration of Rights. *Ibid.*
- Id.* Archibald Cary, Practical Politician. *Ibid.*
- W. EDWIN HEMPHILL. The First Constitution of the Commonwealth. *Ibid.*
- RANDOLPH W. CHURCH. The Counterfeiter and Virginia Independence. *Ibid.*
- ELIZABETH DABNEY COLEMAN. Virginia Buys a Hole in the Ground: The Blue Ridge Tunnel [1850-58]. *Ibid.*
- J. R. V. DANIEL. Jack Jouett and Paul Revere in Petticoats: The Heroine of the Battle of Wytheville [Molly Tynes, 1863]. *Ibid.*
- BOYD B. STUTLER. John Brown and the Oberlin Lands. *West Virginia Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- SIMEON MILLER BRIGHT. McNeill Rangers: A Study in Confederate Guerilla Warfare. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- LEONARD M. DAVIS and JAMES H. HENNING. Nathan Goff—West Virginia Orator and Statesman [1842-1920]. *Ibid.*
- MERLE PRUNTY, JR. Recent Quantitative Changes in the Cotton Regions of the Southeastern States. *Ec. Geog.*, July, 1951.
- W. H. G. ARMYTAGE. The Editorial Experience of Joseph Gales, 1786-1794. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- RICHARD WALSER. The North Carolina Sojourn of the First American Novelist [1792-93, William Hill Brown]. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- FANNIE MEMORY FARMER. Legal Education in North Carolina, 1820-1860. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- JAMES ATKINS SHACKFORD. David Crockett and North Carolina. *Ibid.*
- DONALD J. RULFS. The Professional Theater in Wilmington, 1858-1870. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- Id.* The Professional Theater in Wilmington, 1870-1900. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- WILLIAM BURLIE BROWN. The State Literary and Historical Association: 1900-1950. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- MILTON RUBINCAM. Historical Background of the Salzburger Emigration to Georgia. *Georgia Hist. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- THEODORE B. FITZ SIMONS, JR. The Camilla Riot [1868]. *Ibid.*
- RIPLEY P. BULLEN. Fort Tonnyn and the Campaign of 1778. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR. Code Duello in Florida. *Ibid.*
- MARK F. BOYD. The Battle of Marianna [Sept., 1864]. *Ibid.*
- MARY T. MOORE. The Kentucky Library Collection at Western Kentucky State College. *Reg. Kentucky Hist. Soc.*, Apr., 1951.
- WILLARD ROUSE JILLSON. The Colonial Northwest. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- R. S. COTTERILL. John Fleming, Pioneer of Fleming County [1735-91]. *Ibid.*
- THURMAN B. RICE. The Shanks (Scaggs, Skaggs, Skeggs, Scraggs) Family Massacre [1788]. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- W. ROBERT INSKO. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, Early Kentucky Clergyman [1794-1884]. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.

- EVELYN CRADY ADAMS. The Imprisonment of British Officers in the Frankfort Penitentiary during the War of 1812. *Ibid.*
- WILL D. GILLIAM, JR. Kansas and Slavery in Two Lexington, Kentucky, Newspapers, 1857. *Ibid.*
- ENOCH L. MITCHELL. Robert Whyte [1767-1844], Agrarian, Lawyer, Jurist. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Mar., 1951.
- CURTIS CARROL DAVIS. James Hays Piper [1800-54], a Sketch. *Ibid.*
- STUART G. NOBLE and ARTHUR G. NUHRAH. Education in Colonial Louisiana. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Oct., 1949.
- ARTHUR K. MOORE. Specimens of the Folktales from Some Antebellum Newspapers of Louisiana. *Ibid.*
- ARTHUR MARVIN SHAW. A. B. Longstreet's Brief Sojourn in Louisiana [Centenary College, 1849]. *Ibid.*
- ARLIN TURNER. George W. Cable's Beginnings as a Reformer. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May, 1951.
- GEORGE VERNON IRONS. River Ferries in Alabama before 1861. *Alabama Rev.*, Jan., 1951.
- EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON. The Episcopal Church in the Alabama Black Belt, 1822-1836. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- W. STANLEY HOOLE. John Gorman Barr: Forgotten Alabama Humorist [1823-58]. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE and LARRY GARA. Confederate Leaders in Post-War Alabama. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1951.
- JOHN L. COTTER. Dr. Monette's Observations on Emerald Mound [1832]. *Jour. Mississippi Hist.*, Jan., 1951.
- MAGDALEN EICHERT. Some Implications Arising from Robert J. Walker's Participation in Land Ventures. *Ibid.*
- ARTHUR PALMER HUDSON. Bethel Lodge and Palmer's Hall in Mississippi, 1849-1869 [Freemasons]. *Ibid.*
- CHARLES VAN RAVENSWAAY. Missouri Potters and Their Wares, 1780-1924. *Bull. Missouri Hist. Soc.*, July, 1951.
- Mrs. DANA O. JENSEN. Attention, Cavalry! [4th of July celebrations]. *Ibid.*
- GENE ELLINGER. The Garden Theater [1925-29]. *Ibid.*
- HARRY MCCORRY HENDERSON. The Magee-Gutierrez Expedition [1812-13]. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, July, 1951.
- ERNEST C. SHEARER. The Callahan Expedition, 1855. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- EDWARD S. WALLACE. General John Lapham Bullis, the Thunderbolt of the Texas Frontier. *Ibid.*, Apr., July, 1951.
- WILLIAM L. MANN. James O. Rice, Hero of the Battle on the San Gabriels [1839]. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- DONALD W. PETERS. The Rio Grande Boundary Dispute in American Diplomacy. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- ROY SYLVAN DUNN. Life and Times in Albuquerque, Texas [1860-83]. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- E. T. MILLER. The Historical Development of the Texas State Tax System. *Ibid.*
- W. J. BATTLE. A Concise History of the University of Texas, 1883-1950. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- A. ELIZABETH TAYLOR. The Women Suffrage Movement in Texas. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May, 1951.

## DOCUMENTS

- JOHN B. HILL. Timothy Hill Reports on Slavery. *Jour. Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, Mar., 1951.
- DOROTHY G. HARRIS. Baltimore to Waynesville in 1805: Extracts from the Memoirs of Rebecca Wright Hill. *Bull. Friends Hist. Assn.*, Spring, 1951.
- EDMUND S. MORGAN. Edmund Pendleton on the Virginia Resolves. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June, 1951.
- IRVING BRANT. Comment on the Pendleton Letter. *Ibid.*
- JOHN MELVILLE JENNINGS. Letters of James Mercer [1783, concl.]. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr., 1951.
- JOHN K. MAHON. Letters From Virginia Camps in 1814. *West Virginia Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- BERNARD C. WEBER. A Letter of William Cabell Rives, 1832. *French Am. Rev.*, Oct.-Dec., 1950.

- CARL HAMMER, JR. Late German Documents from Organ Church [Piedmont, North Carolina; 1826-32]. *Am. Ger. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- EDMUND J. CLEVELAND, JR. The Early Campaigns in North Carolina as Seen Through the Eyes of a New Jersey Soldier [Edmund J. Cleveland; cont.]. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, Apr., 1951.
- ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON. Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson [cont.]. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, Apr., July, 1951.
- CHARLES A. ANDERSON. Report on the Subject of Slavery by James Henley Thornwell [1851]. *Jour. Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, Mar., 1951.
- Mrs. LILLA M. HAWES. The Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council of Georgia, October 4, 1774, through November 7, 1775, and September 6, 1779, through September 20, 1780. Part IV. *Georgia Hist. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- CHASE C. MOONEY. Two [John] Forsyth Letters [1814]. *Ibid.*
- OLIN NORWOOD. Letters from Florida in 1851 [Clement Claiborne Clay]. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- G. GLEN CLIFT. The Governors of Kentucky [1792-1824; cont.] by Colonel Orlando Brown. *Reg. Kentucky Hist. Soc.*, Apr., July, 1951.
- JESSE C. BURT, JR. Efforts for an Army Camp at Tullahoma, 1916-1917. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Mar., 1951.
- ROBERT PARTIN. A Connecticut Yankee's [Sherman G. Forbes] Letters from Conecuh County, Alabama, 1847-1866. *Alabama Rev.*, Jan., 1951.
- W. STANLEY HOOLE. The Diary of Dr. Basil Manly, 1858-1867. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- MABEL JACOBS MORGAN. Census of Claiborne and Warren Counties, Mississippi Territory, 1810. *Jour. Mississippi Hist.*, Jan., 1951.
- W. DARRELL OVERDYKE. A Southern Family on the Missouri Frontier: [Samuel R. Ralston] Letters from Independence, 1843-1855. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May, 1951.
- HARRIET BELL CARLANDER and KENNETH D. CARLANDER. George Barton Berrell's "Piscatorial Summer of 1878." *Bull. Missouri Hist. Soc.*, July, 1951.
- JOE B. FRANTZ. Moses Lapham: His Life and Some Selected Correspondence [concl.]. *South-western Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- L. W. KEMP. The Joseph H. D. Rogers Letters [1837-39; cont.]. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.

## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

IRON FACE: THE ADVENTURES OF JACK FRAZER, FRONTIER WARRIOR, SCOUT, AND HUNTER: A NARRATIVE RECORDED BY "WALKER-IN-THE-PINES" (HENRY HASTINGS SIBLEY). Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Theodore C. Blegen and Sarah A. Davidson. Foreword by Stanley Vestal. (Chicago, Caxton Club, 1950, pp. xxiii, 206, \$7.50.) This well-printed volume is the result of the conjunction of four favorable factors. The first is an exceptional territorial governor, the second, an intelligent half-breed Sioux warrior and scout, and the other two are skillful editors and the Caxton Club of Chicago which sponsored it. The edition is limited, but it is to be hoped is so distributed that it will be accessible to students of frontier life. It is the story of a fierce Indian warrior, Jack Frazer (Iron Face), as he told it later in his life to Henry Hastings Sibley, a redoubtable frontiersman and fur trader and state builder. It is a story of ruthless Indian warfare and equally unending struggles to win a living by trapping in a land whose climate was at times as unrelenting as the natives. Iron Face's hatchet had twenty-eight notches for the scalps he had taken and lacked one he wanted, that of his own father, who had broken his promise to bring him up as a white man. But, foregoing his warrior ways and repenting his bloodiest excesses, Jack Frazer did take on the white man's ways and cause. In the Sioux outbreak of 1862 he fought and scouted against his former tribal fellows. The perspicuity of Sibley in extracting the story in 1857-58 and publishing it in a St. Paul newspaper in 1866-67 is another evidence among many of his own con-

sciousness of history. The editors and publisher have done well to give the story of Iron Face to a wider public. G.S.F.

A MERRY BRITON IN PIONEER WISCONSIN, A CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE REPRINTED FROM *LIFE IN THE WEST*, (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1950, pp. vii, 108, \$2.00.) In 1841 an Englishman, whose identity remains unknown, visited the Wisconsin frontier. After returning to England he published his impressions under the title *Life in the West: Back-wood Leaves and Prairie Flowers: Rough Sketches on the Borders of the Picturesque, the Sublime, and Ridiculous. Extracts from the Note Book of Morleigh in Search of an Estate*. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has now reprinted the last five of the eighteen chapters found in the original narrative. Very few aspects of pioneer life escaped the keen eye of this observant Englishman. Utilizing all forms of transportation he worked his way northward from Racine to Green Bay, constantly amazed at both the abundance of the pioneer table and the inferior quality of his lodgings. He vividly described the early centers of population, especially the frontier society found in the capital city of Madison and the occupations and customs of the various national groups in Milwaukee. Since this traveler's special interest was the Indians of the area the high point of the narrative concerns his journey to a site on Wolf River where the Menominee Indians had gathered to receive their annuities from the federal government. The detailed description of the proceedings including the part played by the famous Chief "Osh Cosh" is excellent. This narrative combines interesting reading and valuable historical background.

WALTER F. PETERSON, *State University of Iowa*

A SELF-GOVERNING DOMINION: CALIFORNIA, 1849-1860. By William Henry Ellison. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950, pp. xi, 335, \$4.50.) In this fifth volume of the "Chronicles of California" series William Henry Ellison deals principally with the political history of the state from the making of the first constitution to the eve of the Civil War. *A Self-Governing Dominion* is really a group of related essays whose theme is the persistent attitude of Californians that they were "a people unto themselves," not accountable to any constituted authority except at their own convenience. Yet the work is comprehensive; it is at once a thorough political history and a series of informative articles. The author has drawn upon recent historical scholarship and contributed his own to rewrite, and especially to reinterpret, the history of the centennial decade from the standpoint of today. The professional boldness of Professor Ellison in not hesitating to pass judgment upon Californians, their leaders, and their actions is well placed and altogether commendable. The reviewer is of the opinion that it is these carefully weighed judgments that make this work one of the better contributions to recent Californiana, a literature so rich in narrative but often devoid of evaluation. Beginning with an epitome of the pertinent historical background, the author thoughtfully and interestingly presents the making of the first constitution, which he frankly admires; the performance of the first legislature, which he conditionally approves; admission to statehood, in which the emotions of Congress in 1850 are skillfully recaptured; the redistribution of land, a depressing account of injustices; the liquidation of the Indian, which demonstrates that Californians were determined to solve their problems without outside assistance; the movement to divide the state, an account of local differences, not the slavery issue; lynch law and vigilantes, which reflect both independence and lawlessness; and state politics, a story of personal and local ambitions rather than of national issues.

Throughout the book the author maintains sound perspective, sifting and weighing carefully and accurately. His sense of proportion might be questioned since he devotes so much attention to Senator William Gwin in his lengthy final chapter, but who better understands Gwin and state politics in the fifties than Professor Ellison? Certainly this is a work of high caliber, useful and provocative to historian, student, and general reader; the authors of the forthcoming volumes in the series will be pressed to equal it.

RAYMOND A. RYDELL, *Los Angeles State College*

## ARTICLES

- HILDEGARD BINDER JOHNSON. The Location of German Immigrants in the Middle West. *Ann. Assn. Am. Geographers*, Mar., 1951.
- "The Poor Soldier," Revival of an Old Comic Opera To Be Staged in Cincinnati [1801]. *Bull. Hist. and Philos. Soc. Ohio*, July, 1951.
- ALFRED VANCE CHURCHILL. Midwestern Pioneer Life in Northern Ohio: A Prelude to the History of Oberlin Colony and College. *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, Winter, 1950-51.
- EDWARD NOYES. Mary Ann Furnace, Industrial Community of Early Central Ohio [1817-ca. 1853]. *Bull. Hist. and Philos. Soc. Ohio*, July, 1951.
- Othneil Looker [1757-1845; acting governor of Ohio, 1814]. *Museum Echoes*, Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Soc., May, 1951.
- GEORGE X. SCHWEMLIN, M.D. Daniel Drake, M.D., 1785-1852. *Bull. Hist. and Philos. Soc. Ohio*, July, 1951.
- JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT. J. C. Wild [d. 1846], Western Painter and Lithographer. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- WILLIAM J. REARDON. A Little Known Tunnel [Cincinnati, 1855]. *Bull. Hist. and Philos. Soc. Ohio*, July, 1951.
- MARIE DICKORÉ. James E. Murdoch [1811-93; actor], Grower of Grapes and Builder of a Church. *Ibid.*
- NORMAN A. GRAEBNER. Thomas Corwin and the Election of 1848: A Study in Conservative Politics. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May, 1951.
- ERNEST BRUCE HASWELL. The Cincinnati Art Club [1890-]. *Bull. Hist. and Philos. Soc. Ohio*, July, 1951.
- ROBERT H. BRENNER. Tax Equalization in Cleveland [1901-1909]. *Am. Jour. Ec. and Sociol.*, Apr., 1951.
- WINTHROP TILLEY. A Brand from the Critics' Fire: Or a Word for Whitlock. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- FRANCES KRAUSKOPF. The Documentary Basis for LaSalle's Supposed Discovery of the Ohio River. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, June, 1951.
- HOWARD H. PECKHAM. Mail Service in Indiana Territory. *Ibid.*
- DONALD F. CARMONY. Historical Background of the Restrictions against State Debt in the Indiana Constitution of 1851. *Ibid.*
- EMMA LOU THORNBROUGH. The Race Issue in Indiana Politics during the Civil War. *Ibid.*
- THOMAS J. SCHEIBER. The Newspaper Chain of W. B. Harris [1856-1939]. *Journalism Quar.*, Spring, 1951.
- ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT. Michigan and the Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States. *Michigan Hist.*, Mar., 1951.
- FRANK X. BRAUN and ROBERT BENAWAY BROWN. Karl Neidhard's Reise nach Michigan [1834]. *Ibid.*
- LORENTZ H. ADOLFSON. The Development of the Office of County Clerk in Wisconsin. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Spring, 1951.
- MAMIE J. MEREDITH. The Importance of Fences to the American Pioneer. *Nebraska Hist.*, June, 1951.
- ALLAN G. BOGUE. The Land Mortgage Company in the Early Plains States. *Agric. Hist.*, Jan., 1951.
- FRANK P. DONOVAN, JR. The Minneapolis & St. Louis Railway. *Palimpsest*, July, 1951.

- WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. Diseases and Doctors in Pioneer Iowa. *Iowa Jour. Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- FREDERICK I. KUHN. Congregational Christians in Iowa. *Palimpsest*, May, 1951.
- MILDRED THRONE. "Book Farming" in Iowa, 1840-1870. *Iowa Jour. Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- Id.* Streamliners in Iowa. *Palimpsest*, June, 1951.
- LUCILE M. KANE. The Sioux Treaties and the Traders [1851]. *Minnesota Hist.*, June, 1951.
- HERMANN E. ROTHFUSS. The Early German Theater in Minnesota [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- ELSA R. NORDIN. In Fredrika Bremer's Footsteps [by Tora Nordström-Bonnier]. *Ibid.*
- O. H. HILTON. The Minnesota Commission of Public Safety in World War I, 1917-1919. *Bull. Oklahoma Agric. and Mech. Coll.*, XLVIII, no. 14, 1951.
- WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW. The Kansas Senators and the Re-election of Lincoln. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, May, 1951.
- ALBERTA PANTLE. History of the French-Speaking Settlement in the Cottonwood Valley [concl.]. *Ibid.*
- PAUL HENDERSON. The Story of Mud Springs. *Nebraska Hist.*, June, 1951.
- CHARLES E. HANSON, JR. Marking the Grave of Alexander Culbertson [1809-79; Am. Fur Co.]. *Ibid.*
- J. R. JOHNSON. The Second Nebraska's "Battle" of Chickamauga [1898]. *Ibid.*
- JOHN F. DUE. The Carson and Colorado Railroad. *Ec. Geog.*, July, 1951.
- CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER. Seventy-five Years of Rodeo in Colorado [concl.]. *Colorado Mag.*, July, 1951.
- THERESE S. WESTERMEIER. Colorado Festivals [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- EDWIN W. SMITH. Historical Sketch of that Part of Douglas County Known as West Plum Creek, 1869-1900. *Ibid.*
- CHERRIE ADAIR MOORE. William Penn Adair [1830-80]. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Spring, 1951.
- CAROLYN THOMAS FOREMAN. North Fork Town [Micco]. *Ibid.*
- MELVIN HARREL. Oklahoma's Million Acre Ranch [Cheyenne and Arapahoe Cattle Co., 1878-85]. *Ibid.*
- EZRA BRAINERD. Jeremiah Hubbard [1837-1915], Hoosier Schoolmaster and Friends Missionary among the Indians. *Ibid.*
- OSCAR W. DAVISON. Early History of the Oklahoma Education Association. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM LOY SHELTON. Checklist of New Mexico Publications [cont.]. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- C. GREGORY CRAMPTON. The Myth of El Dorado. *Historian*, Spring, 1951.
- J. WESLEY HUFF. A Coronado Episode. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- DONALD E. WORCESTER. The Navaho during the Spanish Regime in New Mexico. *Ibid.*
- AGAPITO REY. Cristóbal de Oñate. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- IRA C. IHDE. Washington Ellsworth Lindsey [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM SWILLING WALLACE. Short-Line Staging in New Mexico. *Ibid.*, Apr., 1951.
- J. J. WAGONER. Development of the Cattle Industry in Southern Arizona, 1870's and 80's. *Ibid.*, July, 1951.
- M. R. HARRINGTON. Will of Don Tomas Antonio Yorba—Year of 1845. *Hist. Soc. Southern California Quar.*, Mar., 1951.
- WILL H. THRALL. Scraps of Old Mountain History. *Ibid.*
- MAYMIE R. KRYTHE. First Hotel of Old Los Angeles: The Romantic Bella Union [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- FRANKLYN HOYT. The Get Out and Push Railroad [American Colony Railway Co., 1882-87]. *Ibid.*
- ANDREW F. ROLLE. Futile Filibustering in Baja California, 1888-1890. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.
- DAVID JOSEPH HERLIHY. Battle against Bigotry: Father Peter C. Yorke and the American Protective Association in San Francisco, 1893-1897. *Recs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, June, 1951.
- JOSEPH S. BRUSHER. Peter C. Yorke and the A.P.A. in San Francisco. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1951.
- HAROLD A. HAGEN. North Dakota Land Grants. *North Dakota Hist.*, Jan., 1951.
- LEONARD J. ARRINGTON. The Transcontinental Railroad and Mormon Economic Policy. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.



- Id.* The Deseret Telegraph—A Church-owned Public Utility. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Spring, 1951.
- JAMES E. HEDGES. Pioneer Preacher in Idaho. *Jour. Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, Mar., 1951.
- MERLE W. WELLS. Clinton DeWitt Smith, Secretary, Idaho Territory, 1864-1865. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Mar., 1951.
- E. O. FULLER. Cheyenne Looking North [railways and trading hinterland]. *Ann. Wyoming*, Jan., 1951.
- ERIK BROMBERG. A Further Bibliography of Theses concerning the Pacific Northwest and Alaska. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- VERNE BRIGHT. Quivira, a Legendary City of the Northwest Coast. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- ALBERT J. PARTOLL. Angus McDonald, Frontier Fur Trader. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- HARVEY E. TOBIE. Contributions of Virginians in Oregon, 1850. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, June, 1951.
- VERNE BRIGHT. Black Harris, Mountain Man, Teller of Tales. *Ibid.*, Mar., 1951.
- GEORGE A. NELSON. The St. Helens-Hillsborough Territorial Road. *Ibid.*, June, 1951.
- GRANT CONWAY. Senator [Edward D.] Baker of Oregon. *Ibid.*
- W. CLAUDE ADAMS. History of Papermaking in the Pacific Northwest [cont.]. *Ibid.*, Mar., June, 1951.
- CALVIN B. COULTER. The Victory of National Irrigation in the Yakima Valley, 1902-1906. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- NELSON A. AULT. The Earnest Ladies: The Walla Walla Woman's Club and the Equal Suffrage League of 1886-1889. *Ibid.*
- A. GROVE DAY. How to Talk in Hawaii. *Am. Speech*, Feb., 1951.

## DOCUMENTS

- PROSPER JACOTOT. Voyage d'un ouvrier dans la Vallée du Mississipi [1877]. *French Am. Rev.*, Oct.-Dec., 1950.
- ROBERT F. BAUMAN. Young Jim, the Ottawa's Last Hope: A Selection from the Dresden W. H. Howard Papers. *Northwest Ohio Quar.*, Winter, 1950-51.
- LEROY P. GRAF. The Journal of a Vermont Man in Ohio, 1836-1842 [Oren Wiley]. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- ROY D. HUDSON. Civil War Letters of David Mitchell Hudson. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, June, 1951.
- GEORGE C. OSBORN. Writings of a Confederate Prisoner of War [James W. Anderson at Camp Chase, Ohio]. *Tennessee Hist. Quar.*, Mar., 1951.
- E. N. CLOPPER. Country Life during the Civil War: Selections from the Diary of Sarah Elizabeth Rogers of Butler County, Ohio. *Bull. Hist. and Philos. Soc. Ohio*, July, 1951.
- HENRY A. MEYER. A Very Early Indiana Territorial Letter [Mrs. John Cleves Symmes, Vincennes, 1801]. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, June, 1951.
- W. OAKLEY RUGGLES. Early Recollections of Fort Dodge. *Iowa Jour. Hist.*, Apr., 1951.
- FREDERICK J. KUHN. Diary of S. S. Howell, 1868 [State University of Iowa]. *Ibid.*
- JUNE DRENNING HOLMQUIST. Frontier Vacation: Joseph Le Conte's Early Geological Excursion [1844]. *Minnesota Hist.*, June, 1951.
- EDGAR LANGSDORF. The Letters of Joseph H. Trego, 1857-1864, Linn County Pioneer [cont.]. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, May, 1951.
- Along the Line of the Kansas Pacific Railway in Western Kansas in 1870. *Ibid.*
- DAVID L. HIEB. An 1850 Gold Rush Letter from Fort Laramie by A. C. Sponsler, a Thayer County Pioneer. *Nebraska Hist.*, June, 1951.
- RICHARD BRACKENBURY. Katharine Brackenbury's Letters to Her Mother [1893]. *Colorado Mag.*, July, 1951.
- J. C. LOBATO. My Forty-two Years as a Sheep Shearer. *Ibid.*
- LYNN I. PERRIGO. Records of Juan Geronimo Torres [1819-26; cont.]. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Apr., 1951.
- CLARISSA P. FULLER. Letter of Senator J. R. Doolittle, re trip of 1865. *Ibid.*
- MERRILL J. MATTES. Joseph Rhodes and the California Gold Rush of 1850. *Ann. Wyoming*, Jan., 1951.
- FRED B. ROGERS. Reminiscences of Old Times, by William Russell (1821-1897). *Hist. Soc. Southern California Quar.*, Mar., 1951.

ROBERT H. BURNS, *Sheep Trailing from Oregon to Wyoming* [1882], by Hartman K. Evans. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1951.

## Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES. No. 13: 1947. Prepared by the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. *Francisco Aguilera*, Editor. *Charmion Shelby*, Assistant Editor. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. x, 239, \$8.50.) There are some changes in this most recent volume of the *Handbook*. Professors Manoel Cardozo, Watt Stewart, and Dr. George Wythe have replaced Professors Alexander Marchant, Sanford Mosk, and Clarence Haring as section editors, although Professor Haring remains as chairman of the advisory board; the section on libraries has been dropped and its material has been distributed to other appropriate sections; the volume's 2,781 items, through various misfortunes, do not include sections on art, Spanish American prose fiction, and economics ("South America, except Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela"), but this material will be incorporated into Volume XIV; a new section, on Haitian literature, edited by Dr. Mercer Cook of Howard University, is added. J.S.C.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1934. In five volumes. Volume IV, *THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS*. [Department of State Publication 4089.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1951, pp. lxxv, 640, \$2.75.) The public papers of 1934 as they pertain to foreign relations with the American Republics are generally concerned with the ratification of the Saavedra Lamas antiwar pact, but most of the volume (pp. 32-389) deals more extensively with the two great intra-American wars: the Chaco and Leticia conflicts. Yet, if the matter of war is given importance in terms of space, current factors of economics, dollar exchange, Argentine and Brazilian trade opportunities are also illustrated even if the documents here are fewer. The general relationship of national pride to the outbreak of the Leticia and Chaco disputes is well revealed by telegrams, memorandums, and other documents. Inter-American, United States, and League of Nations diplomacy was brought to bear upon the outbreaks in order to internationalize the questions and make arbitration and peaceable intervention possible and acceptable to all parties. In a somewhat different way, United States policy in 1934, then administered by Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles, confronted for the first time the rising and widespread tide of economic nationalism in Latin America, contemporary with the fiscal and monetary unilateralism then appearing in Europe at the same time. In this connection there appears the special report of the representative of the Department of State and Federal Reserve Bank of New York—Dr. John H. Williams—who was chiefly concerned with Latin-American exchange controls. Dr. Williams reviewed this problem as he saw it in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay early in 1934. To some degree this special mission preceded the series of preliminary discussions for a trade agreement between Argentina and the United States (pp. 510-38) and the more successful pact between Brazil and the United States (pp. 542-623). These economic discussions are

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents, except where otherwise indicated.

followed by apparently unrelated documents which close the volume. The documents which come after those of the economic exchanges have to do with United States Navy assistance in the staffing of the Argentine War College. The Brazilian trade agreement is followed by the agreement of 1934 to send an Army mission to Brazil. Thus, as the volume on the American Republics in 1934 opens on the note of the inter-American peace pact, it closes the year with the pattern of inter-American defense. The other published documents in the volume are not related to the main economic and military themes: they deal with Central American conferences, the Inter-American Highway, and the aftermath of the Havana Convention.

HARRY BERNSTEIN, *Brooklyn College*

INDIAN ART OF THE AMERICAS. By *Le Roy H. Appleton*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950, pp. xii, 279, \$15.00.) It is not entirely clear just what the author was attempting to do in writing this book. It may be inferred from statements in the preface that he was endeavoring to produce a basic guide to the art of the American Indian which could serve as a standard text for the student of that subject. If that was his object he has not succeeded. After a general introduction the author proceeds to discuss and illustrate the art of the Americas, region by region. For his purpose he has divided North and South America into seven regions. These regions have neither geographic, historic, linguistic, cultural, nor any other apparent unity. They seem to be purely arbitrary. For example, northern Labrador is classed with northern California, southern Labrador with Florida, the lands about Lake Huron with the coast of Texas, the highlands of Colombia with Tierra del Fuego. This division of the subject is the fundamental defect of the work and from it stem many others. The text contains many erroneous statements and highly dubious generalizations. For example: "He [the Indian] came from Siberia by way of the Aleutian Islands to Alaska," "The telling of myths and legends, even children's stories, was rarely for amusement," "The how and when of a Mexican invasion [of the Ohio Valley] may some day be told," "The eastern seaboard was the most densely populated region of [pre-Columbian] North America," "... textile design influenced all Indian art," "... the Indian languages were not equipped to employ abstract terms," "No people in the history of fabric-making have ever achieved such technical skill [as the Incas]," "In evaluating Indian art we should keep in mind that each family manufactured for its own use the things they needed." This last statement is later contradicted three times explicitly or by implication. Following the text and preceding the plates there are 136 pages of selections of Indian folklore and ritual. They seem to be extraneous to the purpose of the book. There are 79 plates on which representations of works of art of many diverse kinds and dating from the earliest archaeological periods to the present day are all jumbled together higgledy-piggledy in colors harsh and crude. It is frequently difficult and sometimes impossible to determine what they are intended to portray. The sole explanatory note increases the confusion. It is to be regretted that so much time and effort resulted in the publication of such an unsatisfactory book.

JOSEPH C. GREEN, *Washington, D.C.*

A new periodical is: *Historia* (Capitulo Beta Delta de la Sociedad Nacional del Honoraria de Historia, Phi Alpha Theta), I, no. 1, April, 1951. It is published biannually at the University of Puerto Rico.

#### ARTICLES

JORGE GUILLERMO LLOSA. La estadística en el Imperio de las Incas. *Rev. univ.* (Cuzco), no. 98, 1950.

- LUIS EDUARDO ENRÍQUEZ. El Perú de los Incas: El Tahuantinsuyo. *Ibid.*
- JUAN FRIEDE. The *Catálogo de pasajeros* and Spanish Immigration to America in 1550. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.
- OSCAR VIGA CASTRO. El problema jurídico planteada por el descubrimiento y la conquista de América. *Acad. geog. hist. Costa Rica* (San José), Mar., 1951.
- ISABEL GUTIERREZ DEL ARROYO. Historiografía hispanoamericana en la obra de Pedro Tomás de Cordova. *Historia* (Santurce, P.R.), Apr., 1951.
- ALFONSO GARCÍA GALLO. El encomendero indiano. *Rev. estud. pol.* (Madrid), Jan., 1951.
- ENRIQUE DE GANDÍA. El liberalismo colonial. *Rev. cubana* (Havana), Jan., 1950.
- FRANCISCO JAVIER DE AYALA. Iglesia y estado en las leyes de Indias. *Estud. am.* (Sevilla), May, 1949.
- VICENTE PALACIO ATARD. El equilibrio de América en la diplomacia del siglo XVIII. *Ibid.*
- ENRIQUE DE GANDÍA. As idéias políticas de Victoria de Villava. *Rev. Inst. hist. geog. brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro), July, 1948.
- VICENTE LECUNA. Bolívar en París. *Rev. nac. cultura* (Caracas), Sept., 1950.
- MANUEL FRAGA IRIBAME. Bolívar y el idea federal. *Cuadernos hispanoam.* (Madrid), Nov., 1950.
- FABIO LOZANO Y LOZANO. Bolívar, el Congreso de Panamá y la solidaridad americana. *Rev. Soc. bolivariana Venezuela* (Caracas), no. 30, 1951.
- OCTAVIO MÉNDEZ PEREIRA. El Congreso de Panama, precursor del derecho público americano. *Ibid.*
- HECTOR CUENCA. Presencia de Andrés Bello. *Rev. nac. cultura*, Sept., 1950.
- ENRIQUE DE GANDÍA. El problema del reconocimiento de la independencia americana. *Univ. Pontificia bolivariana* (Medellin), Sept., 1950.
- RUSSEL H. FITZGIBBON. Measurement of Latin American Political Phenomena: A Statistical Experiment. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June, 1951.
- JORGE BASADRE. Why Nationalism? *Mexican Life* (Mexico, D.F.), Apr., 1951.
- GERMAN ARCINIEGAS. What's behind Our Revolutions? *Ibid.*, May, 1951.
- FRANK TANNENBAUM. The Anvil of American Foreign Policy. *Ibid.*, June, 1951.
- DONALD W. PETERS. The Rio Grande Boundary Dispute in American Diplomacy. *Southwest Hist. Quar.*, Apr., 1951.
- ALDO FERRER. Los centros cíclicos y el desarrollo de la periferia latinoamericana. *Trimestre ec.* (Mexico, D.F.), Oct., 1950.
- JOHN L. HAZARD. Maritime Development of Argentina in the Past Decade. *Inter-Am. Ec. Affairs*, Spring, 1951.
- ROBERT J. ALEXANDER and WILLIAM SINGER. Canadian Investments in Latin America. *Ibid.*
- HARRIS G. WARREN, ARTHUR P. WHITAKER, WENDELL C. GORDON, J. FRED RIPPY, SIMON J. HANSON. Economic Diplomacy with Latin America: A Symposium Presented at the Annual Convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Convention . . . 1951. *Ibid.*
- MUNA LEE. Some Backgrounds of Latin American Education. *Americas*, July, 1951.
- LOUIS NESBIT. The Jewish Contribution to Argentine Literature. *Hispania*, Nov., 1950.
- ARMANDO CORREIA PACHECO. Uma interpretação da cultura brasileira. *Rev. interamericana biblio.*, Apr., 1951.
- ROSCOE R. HILL. Latin-American Archivology, 1949-1950. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb., 1951.
- El primer congreso de historiadores de México y de los Estados Unidos, trabajos presentados en el Congreso. *Acad. cien. hist. Monterrey*, 1949.

## INDEXES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND ARCHIVE GUIDES

- Libros de la contabilidad de Real Hacienda (1594). *Bol. Arch. gen. nac.* (Mexico, D.F.), July, 1950.
- MANUEL GUILLERMO MARTINEZ. Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta. *Rev. interamericana biblio.*, Apr., 1951.
- CHARMION SHELBY. The Handbook of Latin American Studies: Its First Fifteen Years. *Ibid.*
- RICARDO DONOSO. Aspectos de la producción histórica chilena en los últimos diez años. *Ibid.*
- LEWIS HANKE. Mexican Microfilm Developments, II [concl.]. *Lib. of Cong. Quar. Jour.*, Feb., 1951.

- Indice de documentos del período federal (1831). *Rev. Arch. nac. Costa Rica* (San José), Jan., 1951.
- Inventario general del archivo de la delegación del Partido Revolucionario cubano de Nueva York (1892-1898). *Bol. Arch. nac.* (Havana), 1950.
- EDUARDO POSADA Y GUSTAVO OSTERO MUÑOZ. Bibliografía bogotana [cont.]. *Bol. hist. antig.* (Bogotá), Oct., 1950.
- Indexes relating to: Gobernación y capitanía general; Reales provisiones; Intendencia de ejército y real hacienda; Gran Colombia: Papeles de Guerra y Marina; Gran Colombia: Intendencia de Venezuela—all of late colonial and wars of independence periods, and, for the early republican period: Republica de Venezuela: Secretaria del Interior y Justicia. *Bol. Arch. gen. nac.* (Caracas), no. 151, 1951.
- RAUL RIVERA SERNA. Indice de los manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional. *Bol. Biblio. nac.* (Lima), Dec., 1949.
- Musco "Ricardo Palma." *Ibid.*
- PAULO DE CARVALHO NETO. Bases bibliográficas para el estudio sistemático de la antropología paraguaya. *Bol. Biblio. antropología am.* (Mexico, D.F.), 1950.
- AVELINO FERREYRA ÁLVAREZ. Biblioteca del Convento de los RR. PP. Mercedarios de Córdoba. Siglos XVI-XVII. *Rev. Univ. nac. Córdoba*, no. 3, 1950.
- JOSÉ HONÓRIO RODRIGUEZ. Alguns documentos sobre açúcar no Arquivo Histórico Colonial. *Brasil açucareiro* (Rio de Janeiro), Sept., 1950.

## COLONIAL PERIOD

## NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

DON JOAQUÍN GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA: HIS PLACE IN MEXICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *Manuel Guillermo Martínez*. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Hispanic-American History, Volume IV.] (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1947, pp. x, 127, \$1.50.) In this essay of slightly more than a hundred pages, the reader finds not only a sketch of the life and work of Mexico's greatest historian of the nineteenth century, Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta but observations on historical scholarship in Mexico as well. García Icazbalceta, 1825-1894, belonged to the landed gentry. His father, who had migrated to Mexico from Andalusia as a merchant of some wealth, had married a Mexican girl who owned an estate in Morelos and inherited another. At her early death, Don Joaquín devoted himself to his responsibilities as *hacendado*, though his avocation was the study of Mexican history and in particular that of the sixteenth century, which he considered the most important in the country's annals. As his first historical project, Icazbalceta translated Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, partly because he was impressed with it, partly to establish contact with its famous author. Though Lucas Alamán brought the two men together before Icazbalceta had finished the translation, Prescott helped him to obtain possession of many important documents which the Mexican scholar published in the first volume of his *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, in 1858 (the second appeared in 1866). From then on, Icazbalceta's work emphasized the collecting and printing of original sources for the history of sixteenth-century Mexico. Though the collection of such records was perhaps his greatest achievement, he prepared a significant monograph on *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga* (1881), always recognized as an important contribution. Numerous other books and articles came from his pen, enriching the known facts of the colonial period. He discovered and published Mendieta's *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (1870), began to publish the *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1886), and in the same year finally issued his celebrated *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*. In his research, Icazbalceta reflected the growing scientific attitude of his time, insisting on a strict

presentation of the facts and on their logical interpretation. When, for example, the archbishop of Mexico demanded his expert opinion on the tradition of the appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe in 1531, he rejected it as historically unsound because of the lack of historical proofs. The author has written a pleasing, if unpretentious, volume, which focuses on his subject at all times. Some errors in proofreading mar the typography, but the book is informative and useful.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND, *University of California*

## ARTICLES

- LUIS M. DÍAZ SOLER. Origen y desarrollo de la esclavitud en Puerto Rico, 1493-1517. *Historia* (Santurce, P.R.), Apr., 1951.  
 IRVING R. LEONARD. The Theater Season of 1791-1792 in Mexico City. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.  
 JUANA H. OLIVIA BULNES. Rafael María de Labra en las cortes españolas. *Rev. bimestre cubana* (Havana), July, 1950.

## DOCUMENTS

- Criminal contra los compradores de esclavos a los enemigos piratas (1702). *Rev. Arch. gen. nac. Costa Rica* (San José), Jan., 1951.  
 Real cédula de erección del Tribunal del Consulado en la Ciudad de Guatemala (1793). *Ibid.*  
 RAMÓN LUGO LOVATÓN. El Tratado de Basilea. *Bol. arch. gen. nac.* (Ciudad Trujillo), Jan., 1951.

## SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

## ARTICLES

- JOHN E. LONGHURST. Early Price Lists in Lima and a Petition for Redress. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb., 1951.  
 EUDÓSIO DE JESÚS PALACIO. Cuarto centenario de Santiago del Estero, 1550-1950. *Rev. Univ. nac. Córdoba*, no. 5, 1950.  
 NATALIO ABEL VADELL. La Estancia de Yapeyú: sus orígenes y antecedentes, y la existencia de misiones de ese pueblo en la Banda Oriental. *Estudios* (Buenos Aires), July, 1950.  
 ELMAN R. SERVICE. The *Encomienda* in Paraguay. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.  
 JOSÉ MARÍA OTS CAPDEQUI. La administración de justicia. *Univ. nac. Colombia* (Bogotá), no. 16, 1950.  
 JUAN B. LASTRES. El ejercicio de la medicina durante los siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII. *Rev. univ.* (Cuzco), no. 98, 1950.  
 HORACIO VILLANUEVA U. El mineral de Hualgayoc a fines del siglo XVIII. *Ibid.*

## DOCUMENTS

- Correspondencia del presidente de la Real Audiencia, don Joaquín de Molina [concl.]. *Bol. Acad. nac. hist.* (Quito), July, 1950.  
 ISAAC J. BARRERA. Los papeles de un prócer. Documentos relacionados con el prócer José Manuel Rodríguez de Quiroga. *Ibid.*  
 Diario del capitán de fragata D. Juan Francisco Aguirre. Tomo III. *Rev. biblio. nac.* (Buenos Aires), nos. 49, 50, 1951.

## BRAZIL

## ARTICLES

- JOSÉ MOREIRA BRANDÃO CASTELO BRANCO. Quem fundou Natal. *Rev. Inst. hist. geog. brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro), July, 1948.



- MANUEL HIPÓLITO DO REGO. A lenda no litoral paulista. *Rev. hist.* (São Paulo), Jan., 1951.  
 MIGUEL COSTA FILHO. Engenhos do século XVII na "Rezão do estado do Brasil." *Brasil açucareiro* (Rio de Janeiro), Oct., 1950.  
 J. B. MAGALHÃES. A defesa do Rio de Janeiro no século XVIII. *Rev. Inst. hist. geog. brasileira*, July, 1948.

## NATIONAL PERIOD

### NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

MEXICO DURING THE WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES. By José Fernando Ramirez. Edited by Walter V. Scholes. Translated by Elliott B. Scherr. [University of Missouri Studies, Volume XXIII, No. 1.] (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1950, pp. 165, \$2.50.) This annotated translation of José Fernando Ramirez' *México durante su guerra con los Estados Unidos* is offered in the well-warranted hope that its "publication will help Americans understand Mexico in the period of the 1840s." The basic material is the contemporary correspondence of Sr. Ramirez and the opinions given are those of that scholarly public figure in Mexico who was both observer of and participant in the affairs discussed. The correspondence starts in December, 1845, in the last days of the Herrera government, and continues, with interruptions and lapses, until after the occupation of Mexico by Scott's army. It is concerned primarily with political affairs at the capital but sheds light on national conditions, including military operations, as they were affected by the Paredes revolution which overturned the Herrera government and was, in turn, overthrown by the return to power of Santa Anna. Sr. Ramirez' repeated opinion is that much of the misfortune which came to his nation was due to the fact that its people were "trained neither in theory nor in practice" for the operation of a "well-regulated system of representative government." Speaking of the civil war in the capital which followed Santa Anna's return to power, described as "an absurd uprising," he declared that "everyone, without exception, behaved in such a manner that we richly deserve the scorn and derision of all cultured people." There were "plenty of funds to finance uprisings," he wrote, while "the few troops were eating their meagre little loaves." Summing up the situation as the Mexican War drew to a close, he described the Congress as "without prestige, without power, and without ability," with "a vocal enthusiasm for waging war, but a mental and even a moral sluggishness in seeing it through to the finish," adding that "it is obvious that not one of these advocates of war shows the slightest inclination to shoulder a musket or to put money into the public treasury." Such words written in the bitterness of defeat may have been unduly critical of ineptitude and unreadiness, but they give insight into the situation as it appeared to at least one educated and patriotic Mexican and do much to explain both why the war was brought on and why it was, from a Mexican standpoint, such a failure despite the individual gallantry of the Mexican soldier. In presenting this excellent edition of the work, editor and translator have achieved their aim of enlarging our understanding of the causes and course of a war which so profoundly affected the development of the United States.

ROBERT S. HENRY, *Alexandria, Virginia*

### ARTICLES

- EDMOND LAPORTE. Causerie à l'occasion de l'anniversaire de l'Indépendance du Mexique. *Rev. Soc. haïtienne d'hist. geog. geol.* (Port-au-Prince), Oct., 1950.  
 JOSÉ BRAVO UGARTE. El clero y la independencia. *Abside* (Mexico, D.F.), no. 2, 1951.  
 MYRTLE M. MCKITTRICK. Salvador Vallejo. *California Hist. Quar.*, Dec., 1950.

- KENNETH W. PORTER. The Seminole in Mexico, 1850-1861. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb., 1951.
- FRANK. A. KNAPP, JR. The Apocryphal Memoirs of Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada. *Ibid.*
- ALBERTO MARÍA CARREÑO. Las clases sociales en México. *Rev. México Soc.* (Mexico, D.F.), Sept., 1950.
- ALVARO ZÚÑIGA S., MANUEL SEGURA C., J. ARTURO ROBLES A., ROBERTO SÁENZ CUESTA, Los tres primeros meses de nuestra vida independiente. *Rev. Arch. nac. Costa Rica* (San José), Jan., 1951.
- PEDRO J. CUADRA CH. La nacionalidad Centro Americana y la guerra de 63. *Rev. Acad. geog. hist. Nicaragua* (Managua), Oct., 1950.
- ANTOINE PIERRE-PAUL. Les contrats de Banque et d'emprunt du gouvernement d'Antoine Simon. *Rev. Soc. haitienne d'hist. geog. geol.*, Apr., 1951.
- Id.* Les contrats de chemin de fer et de figues bananes. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM S. STOKES. The "Cuban Revolution" and Presidential Elections of 1948. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb., 1951.
- ROBERT C. COOK. Puerto Rico: An Explosion of People. *Atlantic*, Mar., 1951.
- KINGSLEY DAVIS. Population and Progress in Puerto Rico. *For. Affairs*, July, 1951.
- WILLIAM H. NICHOLAS and JUSTIN LOCKE. Growing Pains Beset Puerto Rico. *Nat'l Geog. Mag.*, Apr., 1951.
- ENRIQUE LUGO SILVA. Puerto Rico in Transition, 1943-1950. *Historia* (Santurce, P.R.), Apr., 1951.
- GUY S. MÉTRAUX. American Civilization Abroad: Fifty Years in Puerto Rico. *Americas*, July, 1951.

## DOCUMENTS

- El archivero del virreinato D. Hanastasio Marín de Duárez, 1817-1818. *Bol. Arch. gen. nac.* (México, D.F.), July, 1950.
- Cartas del General Vicente Guerrero [cont.]. *Ibid.*, July, 1950, Jan., 1951.
- RICHARD B. MCCORNACK. James Watson Webb and French Withdrawal from Mexico. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.
- E. George Squier, Chargé d'Affaires de los Estados Unidos en Nicaragua, informa al Presidente del Comité de RR. EE. del Senado sobre las pretenciones de Inglaterra en la Costa Mosquitia de Nicaragua y aconseja que los Estados Unidos proteja a ésta (traducción del inglés publicada en el "Correo del Istmo de Nicaragua," números 64 y 65, 2 y 9 de enero de 1851). *Rev. Acad. geog. hist. Nicaragua* (Managua), Oct., 1950.
- Intrigas del Gral. Juan José Flores, ex-Presidente del Ecuador, con el Encargo de Negocios inglés contra la unión de Centro América y los interos territoriales centroamericanos. *Ibid.*

## SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

## ARTICLES

- ANGEL ANTONIO LARGO CABALLO. Esperanza y desengaño de Francisco de Miranda. *Cuadernos hispanoam.* (Madrid), Nov., 1950.
- ENRIQUE FINOT. El pacifismo práctico de Bolívar. *Rev. Soc. bolivariana Venezuela* (Caracas), no. 30, 1951.
- RUFINO BLANCO FOMBONA. Bolívar escritor. *Ibid.*
- JEROME V. JACOBSEN. The Religion of Bolívar. *Mid-Am.*, July, 1951.
- GABRIEL PORRAS TROCONIS. Bolívar en Perú. *Bol. Acad. nac. hist.* (Caracas), Jan., 1951.
- JOHN E. BAUR. Venezuelan Education during Liberation. *Mid-Am.*, Apr., 1951.
- LUIS ROBERTO ALTIMIRA. El Deán Funes y el Río Tercero. *Rev. Univ. nac. Córdoba*, nos. 4, 5, 1950.
- Id.* El Deán Gregorio Funes, primer historiador del General San Martín. *Ibid.*, no. 3, 1950.
- JULIAN A. VILARDI. Las tres primeras biografías de San Martín. *Estudios* (Buenos Aires), July, 1950.
- GUILLERMO FURLONG. El General José de San Martín: su espíritu religioso. *Ibid.*

- OSVALDO DODDS. San Martín y los ordenes religiosos. *Ibid.*
- FLAVIO A. GARCIA. El retorno de San Martín y la mediación de Rivera en 1829. *Bol. hist.* (Montevideo), Jan., 1951.
- RICARDO LEVENE. Valoración de San Martín. *Rev. hist. am.* (Mexico, D.F.), Dec., 1950.
- JOSÉ DE LA PUENTE CANDAMO. San Martín en la historiografía peruano. *Ibid.*
- ISO BRANTE SCHWEIDE. Diplomacia sanmartiniana. *Ibid.*
- GERHARD MASUR. The Conference of Guayaquil. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.
- OSCAR ESPINOSA MORAGA. Arturo Prat, agente confidencial de Chile en Montevideo. *Bol. Acad. chilena hist.* (Santiago), no. 42, 1950.
- JUAN PABLO ECHAGÜE. Cartas de Sarmiento. *Bol. Acad. Argentina letras* (Buenos Aires), Apr., 1950.
- JUAN CASIELLO. Principios doctrinales que inspiran la nueva constitución Argentina. *Rev. estud. pol.* (Madrid), Mar., 1951.
- HERNÁN BENÍTEZ. La Argentina de ayer y de hoy. *Rev. Univ. Buenos Aires*, Jan., 1950.

## DOCUMENTS

- ROBIN A. HUMPHREYS. James Paroissien's Notes on the Liberating Expedition to Peru, 1820. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May, 1951.
- FLAVIO A. GARCÍA. El retorno de San Martín y la mediación de Rivera en 1829. [With "Contribución Documental"]. *Bol. hist.* (Montevideo), Jan., 1951.

## BRAZIL

## ARTICLES

- ALAN K. MANCHESTER. The Recognition of Brazilian Independence. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb., 1951.
- HELIO DAMANTE. O ano 68 e a geração de Ruy e Nabuco. *Rev. Arq. mun.* (São Paulo), Jan., 1951.
- J. G. MORAIS FILHO. Pioneiros de noroeste. *Ibid.*
- THOMAS W. PALMER, JR. São Paulo and the Republican Movement in Brazil. *Americas*, July, 1951.
- EMILE G. LÉONARD. O protestantismo brasileiro. Estudo de eclesiologia y de história social. *Rev. hist.* (São Paulo), Jan., 1951.
- PIERRE GOUROU. Observações geográficas na Amazônia. *Rev. brasileira geog.* (Rio de Janeiro), Apr., 1950.

Books Received<sup>1</sup>

- Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918-1945. Serie D (1937-1945). Band II. Deutschland und die Tschechoslowakei (1937-1938).* Baden-Baden: Imprimerie nationale. 1950. Pp. lxxiv, 866, maps. See review of English translation in *AHR*, July, 1951, p. 888.
- AMAYA, JESUS. *Ameca, protofundacion mexicana: historia de la propiedad del Valle de Ameca, jalisco, y circunvecindad.* Mexico, D.F.: Lumen. 1951. Pp. 200.
- Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia.* Palermo: Università degli studi di Palermo. 1950. Pp. 368.
- Archives Year Book for South African History.* 12th Year (2 vols.). 13th Year (2 vols.). Published by authority of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science and edited by Coenraad Beyers, et al. Cape Town: Cape Times for Government Printer. 1950, 1951. Pp. xvii, 381, xxiv, 597; 449, xxvi, 453. £2. 2s. ea. vol.
- ARNOLTT, PIERRE. *Les finances de la France et l'occupation allemande (1940-1944).* Ouvrage

<sup>1</sup>Includes all books received from May 1 to August 1, 1951.

- publié avec le concours du Centre national de la recherche scientifique. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. vi, 410. 800 fr.
- BAILEY, HELEN MILLER; LAZARE, EUGENE L.; and HAWKINS, CONRAD H. *Your American Government: The Citizen's Approach*. New York: Longmans, Green. 1951. Pp. ix, 566. \$4.25. Textbook.
- BALON, J. *L'organisation judiciaire des marches féodales*. Gembloux, Belgium: J. Duculot. 1951. Pp. 74.
- BARON, SALO W.; NAGEL, ERNEST; and PINSON, KOPPEL S., (eds.). *Freedom and Reason: Studies in Philosophy and Jewish Culture in Memory of Morris Raphael Cohen*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 468. \$5.00.
- BAUMGARDT, CAROLA. *Johannes Kepler: Life and Letters*. Introd. by ALBERT EINSTEIN. New York: Philosophical Library. 1951. Pp. 209. \$3.75.
- BAYM, MAX I. *The French Education of Henry Adams*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 358. \$5.00.
- BERRY, BREWTON. *Race Relations: The Interaction of Ethnic and Racial Groups*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1951. Pp. xii, 487. \$4.75.
- BISBEE, ELEANOR. *The New Turks: Pioneers of the Republic, 1920-1950*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 298. \$5.00.
- BLANKSTEN, GEORGE I. *Ecuador: Constitutions and Caudillos*. University of California Publications in Political Science, Vol. III, No. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 196. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.00.
- BLUM, JOHN M. *Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1951. Pp. ix, 337. \$4.00.
- BOARDMAN, THAYER M., (comp.). *Records of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration*. Preliminary Inventories, No. 28. Washington: National Archives. 1951. Pp. v, 17.
- BORAH, WOODROW. *New Spain's Century of Depression*. Ibero-Americana, No. 35. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. 58. 75 cents.
- BORAWSKA, DANUTA. *Z dziejów jednej legendy w sprawie genezy kultu Św. Stanisława Biskupa* [Histoire d'une légende sur les origines du culte de St. Stanislas Evêque]. Warsaw: Institute of History, University of Warsaw, Publication IV. 1950. Pp. 103.
- BOROME, JOSEPH A. *Charles Coffin Jewett*. American Library Pioneers, VII. Chicago: American Library Association. 1951. Pp. 188. \$3.50.
- BOWMAN, FRANCIS J. *A Handbook of Historians and History Writing*. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown. 1951. Pp. v, 110. \$2.50.
- BOXER, C. R. *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xv, 535. \$7.50.
- BOYD, JULIAN P., (ed.). *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Vol. IV, 1 October 1780 to 24 February 1781. LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD and MINA R. BRYAN, Assoc. eds. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xxxviii, 702. \$10.00.
- BRANTS, JOHANNES LOUIS PETRUS. *Groen's geestelijke Groei: Onderzoek naar Groen van Prinsterer's Theorieën tot 1834* [Groen's Spiritual Growth: A Discussion of Groen van Prinsterer's Theories up to 1834]. Amsterdam: Van Soest. 1951. Pp. 160.
- BRATUS, TADEUSZ, et al., (eds.). *Polacy-Ewangelicy na Dolnym Śląsku w XIX w. ich postawa narodowo-społeczna* [Les Polonais protestants en Basse-Silésie au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: leur attitude nationale et sociale: Documents choisis des anciennes archives centrales protestantes de la province silésienne à Wrocław]. In 2 parts. Materiały do dziejów nowożytnych ziem zachodnich: II, III. Poznań-Wrocław: Instytut Zachodni. 1950. Pp. xlviii, 358; xlv, 247.
- BRAURE, MAURICE. *Histoire des Pays-Bas*. "Que sais-je?" no. 490. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. 127.
- BROUGHTON, T. ROBERT S. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. Vol. I, 509 B.C.-100 B.C. With the collaboration of MARICA L. PATTERSON. Philological Monographs, No. XV, Vol. I. New York: American Philological Association. 1951. Pp. xix, 578.
- BROWN, FRANCIS. *Raymond of the Times*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1951. Pp. viii, 345. \$5.00.
- BURN, W. L. *The British West Indies*. Hutchinson's University Library, British Empire History. New York: Longmans, Green. 1951. Pp. 196. Trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.
- BURTON, K. G., (ed.). *The Memorandums of John Watts, Esq., Mayor of Reading 1722-23 and 1728-29*. Reading, Eng.: Reading University, School of Art. 1950. Pp. 116.

- BURY, J. B. *A History of Greece: To the Death of Alexander the Great*. Third edition, revised by RUSSELL MEIGGS. New York: Macmillan. 1951. Pp. xxv, 925. See review of 1st ed. (1900) in *AHR*, VI (January, 1901), 345.
- BUTTERFIELD, L. H., (ed.). *Letters of Benjamin Rush*. Vol. I: 1761-1792. Vol. II: 1793-1813. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 30, Parts 1 and 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press for American Philosophical Society. 1951. Pp. lxxxvii, 624; 627-1295. \$15.00.
- Caernarvon Court Rolls, 1361-1402*. Ed. by G. P. JONES and HUGH OWEN. Caernarvonshire Historical Society, Record Series, No. 1. Caernarvon, Wales: the Society. 1951. Pp. vi, 192. 15s.
- CALMETTE, JOSEPH. *Charlemagne*. "Que sais-je," no. 471. Paris: Presses universitaires. 1951. Pp. 127.
- CAMPO, PIETRO. *Glimpses of a New Horizon: An Outline of a New Economic and Social Order*. New York: William-Frederick Press. 1951. Pp. 58. \$1.25.
- CANDLER, JOHN. *A Friendly Mission: John Candler's Letters from America, 1853-1854*. Ed. by GAYLE THORNBROUGH. Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XVI, No. 1. Indianapolis: the Society. 1951. Pp. 134. \$1.00.
- CARCOPINO, JÉRÔME. *Cicero: The Secrets of His Correspondence*. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 275; vi, 279-596. \$7.50.
- CARLSON, THEODORE L. *The Illinois Military Tract: A Study of Land Occupation, Utilization, and Tenure*. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XXXII, No. 2. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 218. Paper \$2.50, cloth \$3.50.
- CARROLL, KIERAN JOSEPH. *Some Aspects of the Historical Thought of Augustin Thierry (1795-1856)*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 104.
- CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN, (comp.). *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. Vol. XV, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1815-1921* (Cont.). National Archives Publication 51-9. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1951. Pp. v, 834. \$5.00. See reviews of vols. for 1803-1806 and 1806-14, *AHR*, LIV (April, 1949), 690, and LVI (October, 1950), 211.
- Castelos medievais de Portugal*. Zurich: II Congresso do Centro Europeu para o estudo dos castelos; Internationales Burgenforschungs-Institut. 1949. Pp. 61, plates.
- Catálogo da coleção visconde do Rio-Branco*. 2 vols. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Rio-Branco, Ministério das Relações exteriores. N.d. Pp. 508; 508, lxxxiv.
- CHARLESWORTH, M. P. *The Roman Empire*. Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, No. 219. New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 215. \$2.00.
- Château (Le) espagnol du moyen âge*. Madrid: Direction générale des relations culturelles; Zurich: Internationales Burgenforschungs-Institut. 1949. Pp. 39, plates.
- CHIBNALL, MARJORIE, (ed.). *Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*. Camden Third Series, Vol. LXXXIII. London: Royal Historical Society. 1951. Pp. xvii, 213.
- CHIPPENDALE, HARRY ALLEN. *Sails and Whales*. Introd. by HENRY BEETLE HOUGH. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1951. Pp. xviii, 232. \$3.00.
- Civil Rights in the United States in 1950: A Balance Sheet of Group Relations*. New York: American Jewish Congress and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. 1951. Pp. 96. 25 cents.
- CLARKE, C. F. O. *Britain Today: A Review of Current Political and Social Trends*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. 248. \$3.00.
- CLELAND, ROBERT GLASS. *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880*. 2d ed. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1951. Pp. xvi, 365. \$5.00. See review of first ed., *AHR*, XLVII (April, 1942), 635. Additional chapter carries account down to 1880.
- COLEMAN, R. V. *Liberty and Property*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. xiii, 606. \$5.00.
- COLLAS, JOHN P., and PLUCKNETT, THEODORE F. T., (eds.). *Year Books of Edward II*. Vol. XXIII, 12 Edward II, Michaelmas A.D. 1318. Publications of the Selden Society, Vol. LXV, 1946. London: Quaritch. 1950. Pp. lxxiii, 206.
- Colonial Society of Massachusetts. *Transactions, 1942-1946*. Boston: the Society, Publication XXXV. 1951. Pp. xv, 474.
- COLTON, JOEL. *Compulsory Labor Arbitration in France, 1936-1939*. New York: King's Crown Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 220. \$3.25.
- CORNELIUS, ROBERTA D. *The History of Randolph-Macon Woman's College: From the Founding*

- in 1891 through the Year of 1949-1950. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. xviii, 428. \$6.00.
- COULTER, E. MERTON. *College Life in the Old South*. Rev. ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 320. \$4.50. See review of first ed., *AHR*, XXXIV (April, 1929), 654.
- CRAVEN, AVERY; JOHNSON, WALTER; and DUNN, F. ROGER. *A Documentary History of the American People*. Boston: Ginn. 1951. Pp. xxiii, 872. \$5.50. Source book.
- CREVENNA, THEO R., (ed.). *La clase media en Colombia, Ecuador, y la Republica Dominicana: cuatro colaboraciones*. Materiales para el estudio de la Clase Media en la America Latina, VI. Washington: Union Panamericana, Oficina de Ciencias Sociales. 1951. Pp. xvi, 98. 30 centavos.
- CURTIS, LIONEL. *With Milner in South Africa*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1951. Pp. xiv, 354. 15s.
- DAHL, FOLKE; PETIBON, FANNY; BOULET, MARGUERITE. *Les debuts de la presse française: nouveaux aperçus*. Acta bibliothecae Götoburgensis, Vol. IV. Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerber; Paris: Librairie Raymann. 1951. Pp. viii, 75. Kr. 7.50; 500 fr.
- DARRAH, WILLIAM CULP. *Powell of the Colorado*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 426. \$6.00.
- DE GRUMMOND, JANE LUCAS. *Envoy to Caracas: The Story of John G. A. Williamson, Nineteenth-Century Diplomat*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. xx, 228. \$3.75.
- DE MONTULÉ, EDOUARD. *Travels in America, 1816-1817*. Trans. from the original French ed. of 1821 by EDWARD D. SEEBER. Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series, No. 9. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1950. Pp. 197. Cloth \$5.00, paper \$3.00.
- DEMOUGEOT, E. *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire Romain, 395-410: essai sur le gouvernement impérial*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient. 1951. Pp. xv, 618. \$5.30.
- DOIG, PETER. *A Concise History of Astronomy*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1951. Pp. xi, 320. \$4.75.
- DOLAN, PAUL. *The Organization of State Administration in Delaware*. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXVIII (1950), No. 1. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1951. Pp. 154. \$2.50.
- DUROSELLE, JEAN-BAPTISTE. *Les débuts du Catholicisme social en France (1822-1870)*. Préface de B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch et Marcel Prélot. Bibliothèque de la Science politique. Quatrième série, Les grandes forces politiques. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. xii, 787. 1,200 fr.
- EAGLETON, CLYDE, and SWIFT, RICHARD N., (eds.). *Annual Review of United Nations Affairs, 1950*. New York: New York University Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 265. \$4.50.
- ECCLES, MARRINER S. *Beckoning Frontiers: Public and Personal Recollections*. Ed. by SIDNEY HYMAN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xii, 499. vii. \$5.00.
- EDMONDS, HELEN G. *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 260. \$5.00.
- EDMONDS, Brigadier-General Sir JAMES E., (comp.). *A Short History of World War I*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xxxiv, 454. \$7.00.
- ELLIS, L. ETHAN. *A Short History of American Diplomacy*. Harper's Historical Series. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1951. Pp. x, 604. \$5.00. Textbook.
- FARMER, PAUL. *The European World: A Historical Introduction*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xxvi, 618. xxv. \$5.00. Textbook.
- FARNSWORTH, A. *Addington, Author of the Modern Income Tax*. London: Stevens and Sons. 1951. Pp. xii, 140. 21s.
- FAULKNER, HAROLD U. *The Decline of Laissez Faire, 1897-1917*. Economic History of the United States, Vol. VII. New York: Rinehart. 1951. Pp. xiv, 433. \$4.50.
- FISCHEL, WALTER J., (ed.). *Semitic and Oriental Studies*. A Volume Presented to William Popper, Professor of Semitic Languages, Emeritus, on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, October 29, 1949. University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. XI. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 456. \$4.50.
- FLORINSKY, MICHAEL T. *Towards an Understanding of the U.S.S.R.: A Study in Government, Politics, and Economic Planning*. Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan. 1951. Pp. x, 223. \$3.00. See rev. of 1st ed., *AHR*, XLVI (October, 1940), 149.
- FOLZ, ROBERT. *Etudes sur le Culte liturgique de Charlemagne dans les églises de l'Empire*. Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fasc. 115. Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1951. Pp. x, 156.



- Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1934.* In five volumes. Vol. II, *Europe, Near East, and Africa*. Department of State Publication 4212. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1951. Pp. xcv, 1002. \$3.75.
- FRANTZ, JOE B. *Gail Borden, Dairyman to a Nation*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 310. \$5.00.
- FRIEDMAN, W. *An Introduction to World Politics*. New York: Macmillan. 1951. Pp. xii, 313. \$2.25.
- GEORGE, PIERRE, et al. *Les fleuves et l'évolution des peuples: Europe Orientale, Baltique-Mer Noire*. Centre international de synthèse, Institut international d'archéocivilisation. Paris: Presses universitaires. 1950. Pp. 104. 300 fr.
- GEWIRTH, ALAN. *Marsilius of Padua: The Defender of Peace*. Vol. I, *Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy*. Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, No. XLVI. New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 342. \$4.75.
- GLAZEBROOK, G. P. DET. *A History of Canadian External Relations*. Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 449. \$4.50.
- Goals for Political Science*. Report of the Committee for the Advancement of Teaching, American Political Science Association. New York: William Sloane Associates. 1951. Pp. xxiv, 319. \$2.75.
- GOING, ALLEN JOHNSTON. *Bourbon Democracy in Alabama, 1874-1890*. University: University of Alabama Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 256. \$4.00.
- GOLACHOWSKI, STEFAN, (comp.). *Materiały do statystyki narodowościowej Śląska Opolskiego z lat 1910-1939* [Matériaux pour la statistique relative à la structure nationale de la Silésie d'Opole—de 1910 à 1939]. *Materiały do dziejów nowożytnych ziem zachodnich*: I. Poznań-Wrocław: Instytut Zachodni. 1950. Pp. xxvi, 120, charts, maps.
- GRAY, JAMES. *The University of Minnesota, 1851-1951*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1951. Pp. xvii, 609. \$3.75.
- HAAC, OSCAR A. *Les principes inspireurs de Michelet: sensibilité et philosophie de l'histoire*. Institut d'études françaises de Yale University. New Haven: Yale University Press; Paris: Presses universitaires. 1951. Pp. viii, 242. \$2.00.
- HALLER, WILLIAM, JR. *The Puritan Frontier: Town-Planting in New England: Colonial Development, 1630-1660*. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 568. New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 119. \$2.00.
- Halphen, Louis, Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de*. Préface de CHARLES-EDMOND PERRIN. Paris: Presses universitaires. 1951. Pp. xxiii, 713. 1.800 fr.
- HAMMOND, MASON. *City-State and World State in Greek and Roman Political Theory until Augustus*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 217. \$4.00.
- Handbook of Latin American Studies*. No. 13: 1947. Prepared by The Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. FRANCISCO AGUILERA, Editor; CHARMION SHELBY, Assistant Editor. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 239. \$8.50.
- HARRINGTON, FRED HARVEY. *Hanging Judge*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1951. Pp. 204. \$4.00.
- HARWELL, RICHARD BARKSDALE, (ed.). *Songs of the Confederacy*. New York: Broadcast Music; distrib. by Associated Music Publishers. 1951. Pp. 112. \$3.95.
- HAYEK, F. A. *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Correspondence and Subsequent Marriage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. 320. \$4.50.
- HAZARD, HARRY W., (comp.). *Atlas of Islamic History*. Maps by H. LESTER COOKE, JR., and J. McA. SMILEY. Princeton Oriental Studies, Vol. XII. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. 49. \$4.00.
- Histoire de Genève des origines à 1798*. Geneva: Alexandre Jullien for Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève. 1951. Pp. x, 564.
- HOLBORN, HAJO. *The Political Collapse of Europe*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xi, 207, index. Library ed. \$2.50; text \$1.85.
- HOPKINS, A. *Selected Rolls of the Chester City Courts, Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*. Remains, Historical and Literary, Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Vol. II, 3d Series. Manchester: Chetham Society. 1950. Pp. lxx, 138. 35s.

- HOPKINS, C. HOWARD. *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America*. New York: Association Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 818. \$5.00.
- HOPKINS, JAMES F. *The University of Kentucky: Origins and Early Years*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 305. \$4.00.
- HUMPHREY, RICHARD. *Georges Sorel, Prophet without Honor: A Study in Anti-Intellectualism*. Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. LIX. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. 246. \$4.00.
- HUNTER, KERMIT. *Unto These Hills: A Drama of the Cherokee*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. iv, 100. \$2.00.
- HUTCHINSON, F. E. *Cranmer and the English Reformation*. Teach Yourself History Library. New York: Macmillan. 1951. Pp. vii, 188. \$2.00.
- Indian Historical Records Commission. *Proceedings* (1949). Vol. XXVI, Pts. 1 and 2. New Delhi: National Archives of India. 1950. Pp. 105, 32; 36.
- JULY, ROBERT W. *The Essential New Yorker: Gulian Crommelin Verplanck*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 313. \$5.00.
- KAEGI, WERNER VON. *Jacob Burckhardt, eine Biographie*. Band II: *Das Erlebnis der geschichtlichen Welt*. Basel: Benno Schwabe. 1950. Pp. xxiii, 586.
- KELLY, FRED C., (ed.). *Miracle at Kitty Hawk: The Letters of Wilbur and Orville Wright*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young. 1951. Pp. ix, 482. \$6.00.
- KIRKLAND, EDWARD C. *A History of American Economic Life*. 3d ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1951. Pp. xii, 740. \$5.00. Textbook.
- KNIGHT, EDGAR W. *Education in the United States*. 3d rev. ed. Boston: Ginn. 1951. Pp. xvi, 753, xiv. \$4.50. Textbook.
- KNIGHT, EDGAR W., and HALL, CLIFTON L. *Readings in American Educational History*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1951. Pp. xxi, 799. \$5.00. Source book.
- KNOLES, GEORGE H., and SNYDER, RIXFORD K., (eds.). *Readings in Western Civilization*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1951. Pp. xi, 896. Source book.
- KORBEL, JOSEF. *Tito's Communism*. Denver: University of Denver Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 368. \$4.00.
- KRASOŃ, JOSEF. *Uposażenie Klasztoru Cystersów w Obrez w wiekach średnich* [La dotation de l'Abbaye des Cisterciens à obra au moyen âge—Polish text, French summary]. Classe d'histoire et des sciences sociales, Travaux de la Commission historique, Vol. XVI, Fasc. 1. Poznań: Poznań Society of the Friends of Science. 1950. Pp. 174.
- LABAREE, LEONARD WOODS, and FENNELLY, CATHERINE, (comps.). *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut from May 1793 through October 1796*. Hartford: Connecticut State Library. 1951. Pp. xxviii, 577. \$6.00.
- LANE, FREDERIC C., et al. *Ships for Victory: A History of Shipbuilding under the U. S. Maritime Commission in World War II*. Historical Reports on War Administration, United States Maritime Commission, No. 1. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1951. Pp. xxii, 881. \$12.50.
- LAPSLEY, GAILLARD T. *Crown, Community, and Parliament in the Later Middle Ages: Studies in English Constitutional History*. Ed. by HELEN M. CAM and GEOFFREY BARRACLOUGH. Studies in Mediaeval History, Vol. VI. New York: Macmillan; Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1951. Pp. xiii, 420. \$5.00.
- LASKI, HAROLD J. *Reflections on the Constitution: the House of Commons, the Cabinet, the Civil Service*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1951. Pp. 220. 12s. 6d.
- LEHMANN-HAUPT, HELLMUT. *The Book in America: A History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States*. LAWRENCE C. WROTH and ROLLO G. SILVER (collab.). 2d ed. New York: R. R. Bowker. 1951. Pp. xiv, 493. \$10.00. See review of 1st ed., *AHR*, XLV (April, 1940), 717.
- LERNER, DANIEL, (ed.). *Propaganda in War and Crisis: Materials for American Policy*. Library of Policy Sciences. New York: George W. Stewart. 1951. Pp. xvi, 500. \$4.75.
- LEWIS, OSCAR. *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1951. Pp. xxvii, 512. \$7.50.
- LIDDERDALE, D. W. S. *The Parliament of France* [Fourth Republic]. London: Hansard Society. 1951. Pp. xix, 296. 18s.
- LISSITZYN, OLIVER J. *The International Court of Justice: Its Role in the Maintenance of Inter-*

- national Peace and Security*. United Nations Studies, No. 6. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1951. Pp. xiv, 118. \$1.75.
- LOCKWOOD, DEAN PUTNAM. *Ugo Benzi: Medieval Philosopher and Physician, 1376-1439*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 441. \$8.00.
- LOT, FERDINAND. *La fin du monde antique et le début du moyen âge*. L'Évolution de l'Humanité, Synthèse collective, XXXI. Rev. ed. Paris: Albin Michel. 1951. Pp. xxviii, 559. See review of 1st ed. in *AHR*, XXXIV (October, 1928), 102.
- LOTH, DAVID. *The People's General: The Personal Story of Lafayette*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. vi, 346. \$3.50.
- LYONS, F. S. L. *The Irish Parliamentary Party, 1890-1910*. Studies in Irish History, Vol. IV. London: Faber and Faber. 1951. Pp. 284. 25s.
- MCALLISTER, QUENTIN OLIVER. *Business Executives and the Humanities*. Southern Humanities Conference, Bulletin No. 3. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. 114. \$1.50.
- McKAY, DONALD C. *The United States and France*. American Foreign Policy Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xvii, 334. \$4.00.
- MAJUMDAR, R. C., (gen. ed.), and PUSALKER, A. D., (asst. ed.). *The Vedic Age*. The Bharatiya Itihāsa Samiti's History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. I. London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan. 1951. Pp. 565. \$8.00.
- MARKLEY, ANNE ETHELYN. *Library Records for Government Publications*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 66. \$1.25.
- MARTIN, DOUGLAS D. *Tombstone's Epitaph*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 272. \$4.50.
- MAURER, HERRYMONT. *Collision of East and West*. Introd. by HU SHIH. Chicago: Henry Regnery. 1951. Pp. xvi, 352. \$4.50.
- MAZOUR, ANATOLE G. *Russia: Past and Present*. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1951. Pp. vi, 785. \$6.75. Textbook.
- MEAD, DAVID. *Yankee Eloquence in the Middle West: The Ohio Lyceum, 1850-1870*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 273. \$4.50.
- MEISEL, JAMES H. *The Genesis of Georges Sorel: An Account of His Formative Period Followed by a Study of His Influence*. Ann Arbor: George Wahr. 1951. Pp. 320.
- MELLOR, ANDREW. *India since Partition*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1951. Pp. viii, 156. \$2.50.
- MIERS, EARL SCHENCK. *The General Who Marched to Hell: William Tecumseh Sherman and His March to Fame and Infamy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xxiii, 349, xvii. \$4.50.
- MILLER, JANE KATHRYN. *Belgian Foreign Policy between Two Wars, 1919-1940*. New York: Bookman Associates. 1951. Pp. 337. \$5.00.
- MIREAUX, EMILE. *La Reine Bérénice*. Paris: Albin Michel. 1951. Pp. 252. 420 fr.
- MITRANY, DAVID. *Marx against the Peasant: A Study in Social Dogmatism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 301. \$4.50.
- MORGENTHAU, HANS J., (ed.). *Germany and the Future of Europe*. Harris Foundation Lectures, University of Chicago, 1950. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 180. \$3.50.
- MORRIS, MAUD BURR, and SCHMECKEBIER, LAURENCE F. Index to Vols. 1-48/49 of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*. Washington: National Republic Publishing Co. 1951. Pp. 49. \$2.50.
- MOTT, FRANK LUTHER, (ed.). *A Gallery of Americans: An Anthology of American Biography and Autobiography*. New York: New American Library of World Literature. 1951. Pp. 224. 35 cents.
- MOUNTBATTEN [Lord Louis]. *Report to the Combined Chiefs of Staff by the Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia, 1943-1945*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1951. Pp. xi, 280. \$12.00.
- New Haven Colony Historical Society, *Papers of the*. Vol. X. New Haven: the Society. 1951. Pp. 345.
- NEWELL, GORDON R. *Ships of the Inland Sea: The Story of the Puget Sound Steamboats*. Portland, Oreg.: Binfords and Mort. 1951. Pp. ix, 241. \$3.50.

- NEWMAN, BERNARD. *Epics of Espionage*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1951. Pp. 270. \$4.50.
- NORMAN, ALBERT. *Our German Policy: Propaganda and Culture*. New York: Vantage Press. 1951. Pp. 85. \$2.50.
- NOWACKI, JÓZEF, (ed.). *Liber beneficiorum Dioecesis Posnaniensis anni 1510*. Societas Litterarum Posnaniensis, Fontes collegii historici, Vol. X. Poznań: Society of the Friends of Science. 1950. Pp. 413.
- NYE, RUSSEL B. *Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development, 1870-1950*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1951. Pp. 422. \$5.00.
- O'CALLAGHAN, SHEILA M. *Cinderella of Europe: Spain Explained*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1951. Pp. 199. \$3.75.
- Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Erläuterungen zum Historischen Atlas der Österreichischen Alpenländer*. II. Abteilung: *Die Kirchen- und Grafschaftskarte*. 2. Teil: *Vorarlberg*. By ANDREAS ULMER. Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen. 1951. Pp. 179.
- ONORY, SERGIO MOCCHI. *Fonti canonistiche dell'idea moderna dello stato*. Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, N.S., Vol. XXXVIII. Milan: Vita e Pensiero. 1951. Pp. xviii, 305.
- PACIFICI, VINCENZO. *Note de storiografia: Storia e storiografia nell'illuminismo*. Tivoli: Società Tiburtina di storia e d'arte. 1949. Pp. xv, 347.
- PAINTER, SIDNEY. *The Rise of the Feudal Monarchies*. Development of Western Civilization. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 147. \$1.25.
- PARKS, WALLACE JUDSON. *United States Administration of Its International Economic Affairs*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1951. Pp. xxv, 315. \$5.00.
- PEDLER, F. J. *West Africa*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1951. Pp. vii, 208. \$2.25.
- PHILIPPI-SIEWERTSZ VAN REESEMA, C. *Pioniers der Volksoopvoeding: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling van het onderwijs in de Verenigde Staten* [A history of the origin and development of school and education in the U.S.A.—Dutch text, English summary]. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1949. Pp. xvi, 604. 18 guilders.
- PICKERING, ERNEST. *The Homes of America, As They Have Expressed the Lives of Our People for Three Centuries*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1951. Pp. 284. \$5.75.
- PIOBETTA, J.-B. *Les institutions universitaires en France*. "Que sais-je?" no. 487. Paris: Presses universitaires. 1951. Pp. 126.
- PIPES, WILLIAM H. *Say Amen, Brother! Old-Time Negro Preaching: A Study in American Frustration*. New York: William-Frederick Press. 1951. Pp. 210. \$4.00.
- PLISCHKE, ELMER. *History of the Allied High Commission for Germany: Its Establishment, Structure, and Procedures*. Research Project No. 107, 1950. Washington: Historical Division, Office of U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. 1951. Pp. v, 122.
- PURYEAR, VERNON J. *Napoleon and the Dardanelles*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. 437. \$5.00.
- RICE, HOWARD C. *Rudyard Kipling in New England*. Rev. ed. Brattleboro, Vt.: Book Cellar. 1951. Pp. 47. \$2.00.
- RIGGS, LYNN. *Toward the Western Sky: A Music Play*. Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press. 1951. Pp. 125. \$2.00.
- RIJPERMAN, H. H. P., (ed.). *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*. Vol. XII, 1602-1603. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 92. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1950. Pp. xi, 742.
- ROE, FRANK GILBERT. *The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in Its Wild State*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 957. \$12.00.
- ROLBIECKI, GUNTAM JÓZEF. *Prawo przemysłowe miasta Wschowy w XVIII w.* [Le droit industriel de la ville de Wschowa au XVIII siècle—Polish text, French summary]. Poznań: Society of the Friends of Science. 1951. Pp. ix, 578.
- ROSENAU, JAMES N., (ed.). *The Roosevelt Treasury*. New York: Doubleday. 1951. Pp. xvi, 461. \$5.00.
- ROSITZKE, HARRY A., (tr. and introd.). *The Peterborough Chronicle*. Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, No. XLIV. New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 193. \$3.50.
- ROSS, MARVIN C., (ed.). *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller (1837)*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1951. Pp. xxviii, 200, liv (illus.). \$10.00.

- RUBIO, ANGEL. *Proyecto de atlas de historia de America y de la cultura americana*. Documentos, IV. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia, Comision de Historia. 1951. Pp. 58. \$6.00 (M. Mex.).
- SALOUTOS, THEODORE, and HICKS, JOHN D. *Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 581. \$6.75.
- SALVADORI, MASSIMO. *Italy*. Headline Series, No. 87. New York: Foreign Policy Association. 1951. Pp. 62. 35 cents.
- SCHLATTER, RICHARD. *Private Property: The History of an Idea*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1951. Pp. 284. \$2.50.
- SCHUTZ, JOHN A. *Thomas Pownall, British Defender of American Liberty: A Study of Anglo-American Relations in the Eighteenth Century*. Old Northwest Historical Series, Vol. V. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark. 1951. Pp. 340. \$10.00.
- SCHWARZ, SOLOMON M. *The Jews in the Soviet Union*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1951. Pp. xviii, 380. \$5.00.
- SIBLEY, ELBRIDGE. *Support for Independent Scholarship and Research*. New York: Social Science Research Council. 1951. Pp. xv, 116. \$1.25.
- SMITH, F. HAROLD. *The Buddhist Way of Life: Its Philosophy and History*. Hutchinson's University Library, World Religions. New York: Longmans, Green. 1951. Pp. vii, 189. Trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.
- SOOTHILL, W. E. *A History of China*. Rev. and ed. by G. F. HUDSON. New York: Contemporary Books. 1951. Pp. 127. \$1.50.
- South African Archival Records*. Published under the supervision of the Archives Commission, by the Publication Section of the Archives of the Union of South Africa, by order of the Minister of Education, Arts and Science. *Transvaal*, Nos. 1 and 2. Cape Town: Cape Times for Government Printer. 1951? Pp. xxviii, 400; xxxviii, 602.
- SPEAR, PERCIVAL. *Twilight of the Mughals: Studies in Late Mughul Delhi*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 270. \$3.75.
- SPIELMAN, WILLIAM CARL. *Introduction to Sources of American History*. New York: Exposition Press. 1951. Pp. 175. \$3.00.
- SPROUT, HAROLD and MARGARET, (eds.). *Foundations of National Power*. Van Nostrand Political Science Series. 2d ed. New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1951. Pp. xxiv, 810. \$6.90. Textbook.
- STEWART, WATT. *Chinese Bondage in Peru: A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1874*. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 247. \$4.00.
- Studies of Historical Documents in the Library of the American Philosophical Society* [Darwin, Lyell, Rittenhouse, Benjamin and Deborah Franklin, Benjamin Vaughan, Rush, et al.]. Proceedings of the Am. Philos. Soc., Philadelphia, XCV, no. 3, 1951.
- SUMMERS, NATALIA, (comp.). *List of Documents relating to Special Agents of the Department of State, 1789-1906*. Special Lists, No. 7. Washington: National Archives. 1951. Pp. xi, 229.
- TANKERSLEY, ALLEN P. *College Life at Old Oglethorpe*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 184. \$3.00.
- They Gave Us Freedom: The American Struggle for Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, as Seen in Portraits, Sculptures, Historical Paintings and Documents of the Period: 1761-1789*. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg. 1951. Pp. 66. \$2.50.
- THIELE, EDWIN R. *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings: A Reconstruction of the Chronology of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. xxi, 298. \$6.00.
- TIRRELL, SARAH REBECCA. *German Agrarian Politics after Bismarck's Fall: The Formation of the Farmers' League*. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 566. New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 354. \$4.50.
- TRITTON, A. S. *Islam: Belief and Practices*. Hutchinson's University Library, World Religions. New York: Longmans, Green. 1951. Pp. 200. Trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.
- TRUMAN, DAVID B. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. Borzoi Books in Political Science. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xvi, 544, xv. \$5.00.
- TURNER, LYNN W., and WALKER, HEBER P., (comps.). *Indiana at War: A Directory of Hoosier Civilians Who Held Positions of Responsibility in Official, Volunteer and Cooperating War-Time Organizations*. Indiana in World War II, Vol. IV. Bloomington: Indiana War History Commission. 1951. Pp. xxi, 1330.

- UTLEY, GEORGE BURWELL. *The Librarians' Conference of 1853: A Chapter in American Library History*. Ed. by GILBERT H. DOANE. Chicago: American Library Association. 1951. Pp. 189. \$3.00.
- VILLAMIZAR, RAFAEL. *Crítica de historia colombiana*. Vol. II. Bogota: Cromos. 1940. Pp. 647.
- VILLARS, JEAN BERAUD. *Les Normands en Méditerranée*. Paris: Albin Michel. 1951. Pp. 361. 750 fr.
- VOLKART, EDMUND H., (ed.). *Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research*. New York: Social Science Research Council. 1951. Pp. ix, 338. \$3.00.
- WAGLEY, CHARLES, et al. *Four Papers Presented in the Institute for Brazilian Studies, Vanderbilt University*. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 1951. Pp. 138. \$2.60.
- WALLACE, DAVID DUNCAN. *History of Wofford College, 1854-1949*. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press for Wofford College. 1951. Pp. 287. \$5.00.
- WALLBANK, T. WALTER. *India in the New Era: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Indian Union and Pakistan, New Nations in a Changing Asia*. New York: Scott, Foresman. 1951. Pp. 204 (4-to).
- WHYTE, ARTHUR JAMES. *The Evolution of Modern Italy, 1715-1920*. Reprint. Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: Macmillan. 1950, 1951. Pp. vii, 275. \$3.75.
- WILKINS, ERNEST H. *The Prose Letters of Petrarch: A Manual*. New York: S. F. Vanni. 1951. Pp. 143. \$4.50.
- WILLAN, T. S. *The Navigation of the River Weaver in the Eighteenth Century*. Remains, Historical and Literary, Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester. Vol. III, 3d Series. Manchester: Chetham Society. 1951. Pp. ix, 235. 35s.
- WOLFE, MARTIN. *The French Franc between the Wars, 1919-1939*. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 569. New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 229. \$3.25.
- WOOD, RICHARD G., (comp.). *Records of the Selective Service System, 1940-47*. Preliminary Inventories, No. 27. Washington: National Archives. 1951. Pp. v, 53.
- WOODCOCK, GEORGE, and AVAKUMOVIC, IVAN. *The Anarchist Prince: A Biographical Study of Peter Kropotkin*. London: T. V. Boardman. 1950. Pp. 463. 21s.
- WORMALD, B. H. G. *Clarendon: Politics, History, and Religion, 1640-1660*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 325. \$5.00.
- Yale University Portrait Index, 1701-1951*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 185. \$5.00.
- Year Book of World Affairs, 1951*. Published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1951. Pp. ix, 428. \$6.00.
- ZEYDEL, WALTER H., and CHAMBERLIN, WALDO, (comps.). *Enabling Instruments of Members of the United Nations: a compilation of the legislation, executive orders, and other instruments which determine the legal position of Members of the United Nations and specialized agencies with respect to that organization*. Part I. *The United States of America*. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1951. Pp. xvii, 126. \$2.50.



# \* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## American Historical Association

The annual meeting of the Association will be held this year in New York on December 28, 29, and 30. Headquarters will be the Statler Hotel. The meeting of the Council will be held December 27.

Chairman Harrington of the program committee for the 1950 meeting reports the following corrections to his report in the April issue of the *Review*: In the report of the joint meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association, the name of the chairman, J. Fred Rippy of the University of Chicago, was by error omitted. Frank Owsley and Margaret Coit were unable to attend the joint meeting of the Southern Historical Association and the A.H.A. In Professor Owsley's absence, Fred Cole of Tulane University presided. Miss Coit's paper was read for her.

In a recent issue (April, 1951, p. 752) a somewhat vague reference was made to a questionnaire that might be submitted to members of the Association by the American Council of Learned Societies in behalf of government agencies assessing the specialized manpower of the nation. Arrangements are now completed to mail a questionnaire to all members of this Association. It is hoped that all members in the professional ranks will respond promptly.

Four Japanese universities wish to complete their files of the *American Historical Review*. They are: Tokyo Metropolitan University, Fusumamachi, Meguroku, Tokyo (from 1940); Hiroshima Women's Junior College, Ujinamachi, Hiroshima (1943-48); Ehime University, Mochidamachi Matsuyamashi (1940-50); Osaka University, 4-chome, Nakanoshima, Kitaku, Osaka (1940-50). Dates refer to issues needed. Any member of the Association not wishing to keep his file for these years can do a service by donating them to one of these institutions.

## Other Historical Activities

The fifth Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, July 9-14, 1951. This was the first plenary conference since 1936, although interim meetings lasting only two or three days have been held annually since the war. Over five hundred persons attended, including eighty-eight from the United States and forty-six from the countries of the British Commonwealth. The conference opened with a reception by the vice-chancellor of the university (Professor Dame Lillian Penson) on Monday afternoon and there was a government reception that evening. The

archbishop of Canterbury received delegates at Lambeth Palace on the afternoon of July 12. There were twenty section meetings during the week, dealing with ancient history, medieval European, medieval English, modern European, modern English, and colonial and American history. Three general meetings were addressed respectively by the Master of the Rolls, Sir Raymond Evershed, on "History and the Law," by Professor L. B. Namier on "Collective Research," and by Sir Frank Stenton on "The History of Parliament." This last paper was a particularly important statement of the plans for the new scheme sponsored by the Houses of Parliament. The offices of the "History" will be at the Institute of Historical Research and the editorial board will consist of Sir Frank Stenton and Professors J. G. Edwards, L. B. Namier, J. E. Neale, and T. F. T. Plucknett. The social side of the conference included section dinners in Bloomsbury hotels and a general conference dinner at the Waldorf Hotel, at which the speakers were the vice-chancellor, Sir Edward Bridges (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury), Admiral C. R. Brown (USN), and Professor Conyers Read. There were also a number of whole-day or half-day excursions to places of interest in and near London. This was the largest assembly of historians to meet in Britain for many years and the conference seems to have been greatly enjoyed, not least by the American participants.

An interim Anglo-American Conference of Historians will be held at the Institute of Historical Research July 10-12, 1952. American and Canadian historians who expect to be in England at that time are asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Institute, Senate House, London, W.C.1, who will send them full particulars.

The papers of John Campbell Merriam, distinguished paleontologist and educator, have been presented to the Library of Congress by his sons. An extensive general correspondence, covering the years from 1920 to 1938, is supplemented by correspondence concerned more specifically with his work as chairman of the National Research Council, as president of the Carnegie Institute of Washington and as regent of the Smithsonian Institution, as well as by manuscripts of a number of Dr. Merriam's lectures, speeches, and articles.

Another large collection of twentieth-century manuscripts, the papers of Robert Wickliffe Woolley, have been received as a gift from Mr. Woolley. They are mainly concerned with his activities for the Democratic National Committee in the 1912, 1916, and 1932 campaigns, and with his service as Director of the Mint, 1915 to 1916, and as member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 1917 to 1921, but they contain also a considerable body of later correspondence and include letters from Franklin D. Roosevelt and Cordell Hull.

Smaller groups of special interest include about thirty papers of the Johnston family of Fairfax County, Virginia, containing letters from Robert H. Harrison and George Johnston, aides to George Washington; a splendid series of about

150 letters, dated 1902 to 1910, from Chief Justice Melville Weston Fuller to Henry Crittenden Morris, who represented the Chief Justice's extensive private interests and who acted as his secretary in the Muscat Dhows case; seven long letters from Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes to Dr. Thomas Wayland Vaughan, distinguished geologist and oceanographer, 1908 to 1920; four letters to Dr. Vaughan from Sir John Murray, leading oceanographer of his time, 1907 to 1911; and a ten-volume set of typewritten transcripts of the journal of W. Cameron Forbes, governor general of the Philippines and ambassador to Japan, which covers the years 1904 to 1946. Materials of literary interest include two scrap-books containing manuscript and printed poems and articles by Charles Desmarais Gardette, and letters and typescripts relating to Catherine Cate Coblentz's "Martin and Abraham Lincoln."

The Library has added to its George Washington Papers photostatic copies of Washington's diaries for 1795 and 1798, from the originals in the Columbia University Libraries, and, to its Abraham Lincoln Papers, a photostat of a "Muster Roll of Captain Abraham Lincoln's Company of the 4th Rgt. of the Brigade of Mounted Volunteers," May 27, 1832, from the original holograph document in the Brown University Library. Recent additions to the Library's collection of reproductions of foreign manuscripts of American interest include microfilm copies of twenty-two volumes of Foreign Office records in the Public Record Office in London, containing correspondence of the British minister to the United States, 1879 to 1881; and of nine volumes and thirteen cartons of consular correspondence and records, mainly of the eighteenth century, in the "Affaires Etrangères" series of the Archives nationales in Paris.

The Department of the Army, desiring to encourage historical research in its records, has issued a statement regarding their availability for unofficial research by qualified scholars. The records under consideration are those of the War Department and the Army only, and for the period from 1940 to the conclusion of World War II, September 2, 1945. Most of the records of the War Department and the Army for the period before 1940 have been transferred to the National Archives and are subject to the regulations of that agency, which, for this collection, follow generally those of the Department of the Army. A detailed description of the Army records may be found in *Federal Records of World War II*, prepared by the National Archives and recently published by the Government Printing Office (see p. 250 above).

Practically all the records here under consideration are collected in two large centers: The *Departmental Records Branch*, AGO, Alexandria, Virginia, contains the records of agencies of the War Department and the Army located in the Washington area during the war. It also includes the operations reports (and supporting documents) that originated during the war in such field units as armies, corps, divisions, regiments, and separate battalions and companies. The

*Kansas City Records Center*, AGO, Kansas City, Missouri, contains the internal administrative records of such units and the retired records of posts, camps, stations, and major commands.

The memorandum issued in 1947 by General Eisenhower, then Chief of Staff, is still the basis for the Army's policy relating to the use of its World War II records (see *AHR*, LIII [April, 1948], 699). In brief the policy provides for: (1) the accreditation for access to students whose applications indicate trustworthiness and serious purpose; (2) the access of such accredited scholars to unclassified records; (3) the declassification whenever practicable of classified documents needed for historical research; (4) the clearance of accredited scholars for a restricted use of records which cannot be declassified.

The official restrictions on accessibility which apply to all records whether clear or classified are neither startling nor unreasonable. Access will not be given to records in the following categories: (1) individual personnel records, including loyalty records and records of disciplinary action, including trial by courts martial; (2) "unsubstantiated allegations concerning individuals"; (3) "reports of investigation by the Inspector General"; (4) "records upon which a claim against the United States might be based"; (5) records that would reveal or compromise sources of military intelligence; (6) records regarding weapons and plans still kept secret; (7) records "of a nature to jeopardize the friendly relations of the United States with other nations." Certain records of the Army and certain others that are in the custody of the Army are controlled by agreements with other services or other governments. An important example is the captured records of the German Army. This collection is subject to the joint authority of the United States and British governments, and is not subject to the rules of the Army regarding access. At present it is not accessible to any individual not acting as the accredited agent of a government.

The foregoing statements are not intended to discourage research but to encourage the scholar to plan research in materials that are accessible and thus to avoid disappointments and delays. The field in which the scholar will find the least difficulty on account of the wartime security classification of documents is also perhaps the largest field of research in military history—namely, that of the operations and the administration (but not the strategy) of the U. S. Army. Many aspects of economic and social history are also reflected in military records. It should not be forgotten that in time of war the Army operates industries, railroads, and ports, at home and abroad, governs occupied areas, and within its own vast wartime household has to take the place of the butcher and baker, the doctor, the judge, the lawyer, the educator, the preacher, and the psychiatrist, not to mention the athletic coach, the social worker, and the theater manager. In all these fields downgrading is largely accomplished and the declassification of most of the remainder can be accomplished by the asking.

As a preparatory step to research in the Army's records it is suggested that

the scholar go as far as possible in published works and in other readily accessible materials. The General Reference Branch of the Office of the Chief of Military History has a collection of some 5,000 volumes of historical manuscripts and reports prepared during the war and bearing on it, the great majority of which are unclassified. A cumulative inventory of this collection is being prepared for distribution. The scholar would also do well to consult the footnotes in the published volumes of *The U. S. Army in World War II*.

Formal procedure for obtaining access to the records is as follows: Write to the Public Information Division, Department of the Army, requesting a blank application for access. Return this, accompanied by credentials and a specific description of the nature and purpose of the inquiry, *by mail* to the Public Information Division. If a preliminary inquiry about the records is necessary, the scholar should write directly to the Adjutant General, Department of the Army (Attention: Chief, Departmental Records Branch), Washington 25, D. C. The letter should be as definite as possible in regard to the scope and purpose of the project, and the specific needs which can be satisfied from Army records. All preliminaries, both gaining clearance for access to the records and determining the physical existence and location of records needed for a research project, can be handled most expeditiously by mail. The scholar will conserve his own time and that of the custodians of the records if he comes to examine the records *only after these steps have been taken*.

The Bibliography of American Literature in the library of the University of Pennsylvania offers its facilities to scholars. The 1,300,000 entries are fairly complete from the beginnings of American literature up to 1942. Entries are by author only. Open Monday afternoons, from 1:30 to 5:30, and Tuesday evenings, from 7:00 to 10:00, the center will also answer mail inquiries and provide typed bibliographies at one dollar an hour (minimum one dollar) plus one cent a page for carbons. Microfilmed cards (3 x 5) can be furnished for four cents per frame of nine cards (minimum one dollar). Address: Bibliography of American Literature, University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

The recent publication by the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg of an *Index* in two volumes of all the extant numbers of the *Virginia Gazette*, 1736-1780, provides a valuable tool for students of social and intellectual history in the colonial period. The *Index*, edited by Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff, of the Institute staff, is highly detailed and includes both news and advertisements. It lists names, persons, places, and a wide variety of subject matters extending from "Abnormal persons" to "Zinc." In the preparation of the *Index*, a microfilm copy of the *Virginia Gazette* was assembled, including not only William Parks's original *Virginia Gazette* but later and rival papers with the same name. The runs are as complete as can be made; a few gaps occur where

the issues are no longer extant. A positive microfilm copy of the paper and the *Index* will be supplied by the Institute for \$85.00. The *Index* alone can be had for \$60.00, and the microfilm alone for \$50.00.

Edwards Brothers, Inc., of Ann Arbor, Michigan, announces the publication of the *Union List of Microfilms*, revised, enlarged, and cumulated edition, compiled by the Philadelphia Bibliographical Center and Union Library Catalogue. A lithoprinted volume of 1,000 pages, it contains approximately 25,000 entries, including the 18,400 entries recorded in the Basic List and five supplements issued 1942-46, with the addition of 6,600 new entries submitted from 1946 through June, 1949. Additional manuscripts in American and foreign libraries and many runs of foreign and scientific periodicals are listed for the first time. The price of the volume is \$17.50.

On July 16 an exhibition was held at the University of Illinois to mark the publication of one million pages of the *British House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1801-1900* in microprint edition. This project of a committee of the Association is in charge of Professor Edgar L. Erickson.

As one of its first services, the National Historical Publications Commission has prepared and issued a *List of World War II Historical Studies made by Civilian Agencies of the Federal Government*. A limited number of copies of this bibliography are available on request to the Executive Director of the Commission, Dr. Philip M. Hamer, the National Archives, Washington 25, D.C.

A combination of three French societies interested in military history is sponsoring a new quarterly periodical *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale*. The periodical will be international in its coverage of all phases of the war and in the reviews of books on the war. The editor is Henri Michel, and the board of editors includes such well-known names as P. Renouvin, E. Labrousse, L. Febvre, P. Caron, and M. Baumont. The subscription price outside France is 800 francs. The publisher is the Presses universitaires de France.

A new monthly periodical called *History Today* has appeared this year in London. Edited by Peter Quennell and Alan Hodge, it contains illustrated articles intended for the general reader. Among its contributors are eminent historians and men of letters on both sides of the Atlantic. Subscriptions (United States and Canada, \$5.00 per year including postage) should be sent to the Circulation Manager, *History Today*, 72 Coleman Street, London, E.C.2.

The well-known publishing house of Duncker and Humblot announces a forthcoming revised and shortened edition of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biog-*



*graphie* with added material on leading figures in business and technology. The Bavarian Academy of Sciences is in charge of the revision, which will be entitled *Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Twelve volumes of eight hundred pages each are in preparation.

The Hansischer Geschichtsverein of Lübeck, Germany, a historical society founded in 1870 and concerned with the study of various phases of the history of the Hanseatic League, including the social, political, and economic history of all northern Europe, has resumed the publication of its *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. Volume LXIX of this journal appeared in 1950. American historians and libraries are invited to become members of the society and subscribe to the journal. The cost is \$2.00 annually for individuals, \$4.00 for institutions.

Among the recent foundations for scholarly research in history, the Institut für Europäische Geschichte in Mainz, Germany, may be of wide interest. It consists of two departments, one in the history of religions under the direction of Professor Lortz, the other in universal history under the direction of Professor Martin Göhring. The institute is independent, although it collaborates closely with the University of Mainz. Professor Göhring, who has written one of the important recent studies on the history of the French Revolution, hopes to concentrate on modern and contemporary history, especially on the relationships between Germany and the western European countries. To use the term coined by the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy, a "Schuman Plan of historiography" is the goal. A number of research fellowships for German and foreign scholars will make possible co-operative research and discussions.

Clarence H. Faust, president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation, has announced the award of 250 faculty fellowships for the current year. The following appointees are in the field of history: Carl Bruce Cone, University of Kentucky; Harold S. Smith, Kentucky State College; John R. Betts, Tulane University; John Duffy, Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana; Emil R. Platig, Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi; James W. Silver, University of Mississippi; William Edward Livezey, University of Oklahoma; Thomas T. Hammond, University of Virginia; Howard A. Mowen, Western Michigan College of Education; Albin T. Anderson, University of Nebraska; William DeM. Starnes, University of Connecticut; Malcolm Stearns, Jr., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut; John A. Munroe, University of Delaware; Moses I. Finley, Rutgers University; Daniel S. Allen, Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York; William Korey, Long Island University; John A. Nichols, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York; Alfred Brooks Rollins, Jr., State University Teachers College, New Paltz, New York; Ralph W. Cordier, State Teachers College, Indiana, Pennsylvania; James A. Field, Jr.,

Swarthmore College; Vincent H. Learnihan, Pomona College; Donald W. Peters, Glendale College, Glendale, California; Lloyd R. Sorenson, University of Oregon; Thomas J. Pressly, University of Washington.

The faculty fellowship program was established last April by the Fund for the Advancement of Education for the purpose of enabling younger faculty members to improve their competence in undergraduate teaching. The requirements were that applicants have assurance of employment for the academic year beginning in September, 1952, and that their applications be supported by their institutions. Officers of the fund are considering the possibility of continuing the plan for 1952-53. The committee on administration of the program was under the chairmanship of President Victor L. Butterfield of Wesleyan University and included: Chancellor Harvie Branscomb, Vanderbilt University; President Mary A. Cheek, Rockford College; Dean Fred C. Cole, College of Arts and Sciences, Tulane University; Chancellor Arthur H. Compton, Washington University; President Arthur G. Coons, Occidental College; President Albert W. Dent, Dillard University; Dean William C. DeVane, Yale College, Yale University; Dean Paul A. Dodd, College of Letters and Science, University of California at Los Angeles; Dean Eldon L. Johnson, School of Liberal Arts, University of Oregon; Dean Francis Keppel, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University; President Nathan M. Pusey, Lawrence College; President Gilbert F. White, Haverford College; President Goodrich C. White, Emory University; Dr. Payson S. Wild, Jr., Vice-President and Dean of Faculties, Northwestern University; Dean O. Meredith Wilson, University of Utah.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of grants-in-aid of research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815. Early application for the grants will be advantageous; candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1952. Announcement of awards will be made May 15, 1952. Requests for application forms and other information should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia. The Institute announces grants-in-aid to the following scholars for the year 1951-52: Elisha P. Douglass, Elon College, North Carolina, for his study of democracy in the American Revolution; Suzanne K. Sherman, Williamsburg, Virginia, for her study of the theater in the colonial South; Malcolm Freiberg, Boston, Massachusetts, for his biography of Thomas Hutchinson.

The following paragraph gives the essentials from a recent announcement of the Office of Education:

The United States Office of Education, in cooperation with the Department of State, announces the availability of fellowships to United States graduate stu-

dents as provided under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations. Two graduate students are exchanged each year between the United States and each of the republics signatory to the Convention. The participating countries, other than the United States, are as follows: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela. During the next academic year, the following countries probably will receive students from the United States: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela. . . . Transportation to and from the receiving country is paid by the United States Government. The receiving government pays tuition and a monthly maintenance allowance. In some cases a small sum is allotted for books and incidental expenses. It may be necessary for the student to supplement his maintenance allowance from other sources to meet the cost of living expenses. Students desirous of making application should write to the Division of International Educational Relations, American Republics Section, U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. . . . Applications must be received by the Office of Education not later than January 15, 1952.

The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils in charge of Fulbright awards at the faculty level announces that it will receive applications for 1952-53 for Turkey and Greece. It has prepared two booklets describing the whole program and its present status. These booklets and application blanks may be obtained on request to the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D.C. The new secretary of the committee is Francis A. Young. Gordon Bowles, who has carried the program so ably through its initial stages, has accepted appointment as visiting professor at Tokyo University.

The Institute of the History of Medicine, the Johns Hopkins University, announces the award of three fellowships in the history of science and of medicine for the academic year 1951-1952. The awards, each of which carries a stipend of \$3,000, involve no formal obligations other than residence and provide for association with appropriate staff members of the medical institutions and of the School of Higher Studies. Those receiving the fellowships for next year are Mr. John B. Blake, of Harvard (in the history of public health); Mr. R. Gordon Gilbert, of the University of California (in the history of basic scientific concepts); and Mr. Rashi Fein, of Johns Hopkins University (in medical economics).

The winners of the 1951 Bancroft prizes awarded by Columbia University for the "best books published in the preceding year in American history in its broadest sense, American diplomacy or American international relations" are Arthur N. Holcombe, professor of government at Harvard University, and Henry Nash Smith, professor of English at the University of Minnesota. Professor Holcombe received the award for his book *Our More Perfect Union* and Professor Smith for his *Virgin Land*.

Karl W. Deutsch, associate professor of history in the School of Humanities and Social Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was awarded the 1951 Sumner Prize of Harvard University for the manuscript of a book on "Nationalism and Social Communication."

The Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for 1951 was awarded to Mr. K. G. Davies for an essay on "The Origins of the Commission System in the West India Trade." Essays competing for the 1952 prize must be sent by January 31, 1952, to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S.W.10.

The Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, announces the establishment of a chair of military history, a position to be filled by civilian scholars. Appointments will be made for short periods such as one semester or one year in order that the historian may maintain his association with his parent university. Professor Thomas C. Mendenhall of Yale University is giving part time this fall semester to the duties of the new chair.

Ian H. C. Fraser (34 Chandos Road, Redland, Bristol, England) is making a study of Sir Robert Heath (1575-1649), sometime chief justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Charles I. He would appreciate information concerning the whereabouts of a collection of manuscript letters and papers relating to Sir Robert which were sold, through an agent, to an American collector sometime after 1920.

The Berkshire Historical Conference held its annual meeting this year May 19-20 at South Egremont, Massachusetts. Twenty-five women, teaching in the field of history and representing fifteen colleges and universities, attended. Informal discussions concerning the teaching of advanced courses in history followed reports by Vera Brown Holmes and Jean Wilson of Smith College, by Carolyn Clewes of Wheaton College, Dorothy L. Thompson of Bard, and Helen Maude Cam of Harvard. Vera Brown Holmes was elected president and Grace H. Larsen, of Swarthmore, secretary-treasurer. Retiring officers were Margaret Judson of New Jersey College for Women as president and Joanne Neel of Vassar as secretary-treasurer.

## Personal

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Robert Livingston Schuyler, president of the American Historical Association this year, retired on July 1 from Columbia University, where he was Gouverneur Morris professor of history and senior member of the faculty of political science.

Solon J. Buck, head of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, has been made Assistant Librarian of Congress. David C. Mearns succeeds Dr. Buck in the Manuscripts Division.

Paul B. Cares has been promoted to a professorship in history at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania.

John J. Van Nostrand has been granted a leave of absence from the University of California, Berkeley.

Herbert J. Clancy, S.J., is now on the staff of Canisius College, Buffalo, New York, where he is teaching United States history.

Oliver H. Radkey of the University of Texas is visiting professor of Russian history at the University of Cincinnati during the current academic year.

The department of history of the University of Colorado announces the appointments of Vincent W. Beach, formerly of East Tennessee State College, as assistant professor and Robert P. Browder, formerly of Stanford University, as instructor.

Fred A. Cazel, Jr., assistant professor of history in the University of Connecticut, has been granted the Bissing Fellowship by the Johns Hopkins University and has gone to England for the current academic year.

Eric C. Kollman has been granted sabbatical leave by Cornell College (Mount Vernon, Iowa) for the first semester this year. He is to be in both Germany and Austria, doing research and lecturing at the United States Information Centers in Germany. He has also been invited to give some lectures at the University of Göttingen.

Wilbur D. Jones has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the University of Georgia.

Arthur M. Lee has accepted an appointment as associate professor of history and acting head of the social science department at Grand Canyon College.

Charles H. Hunter and Arthur J. Marder have been promoted to full professorships in the department of history of the University of Hawaii.

Beatrice F. Hyslop of Hunter College has received a Fulbright fellowship and has gone to France for the year to do research.

Frederic C. Lane is on leave from the Johns Hopkins University for two or three years to serve with the Rockefeller Foundation as European representative for the social sciences division. He has resigned the editorship of the *Journal of Economic History* and Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania has been elected editor.

Alexandre Koyré of L'Ecole pratique des hautes études, Paris, has been appointed visiting professor in the history of science at the Institute of the History of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University for the first semester, 1951-52.

George M. Beckmann has been appointed instructor in history in the University of Kansas. He will give courses in Asiatic history. Edward F. Grier has been appointed assistant professor of English at the same institution and will teach courses in American literature.

Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship and is lecturing during the current year at the University of Manchester, England.

George W. Kyte has been promoted to associate professor of history in Lehigh University.

Horace S. Merrill has been assigned to the University of Maryland European program for 1951-52 and Herbert A. Crosman remains in the program for the year. Gordon W. Prange, who has been on leave as deputy chief of historical research of G2 in Tokyo, returned to his duties in the University of Maryland in September. Charles A. Johnson, instructor in American history in the same institution, has been recalled to active duty as a captain in the United States Air Force.

Sidney Fine has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the University of Michigan.

Austin L. Moore, professor of history in Michigan State College, has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship and is lecturing on the history of civilization at Farouk I University, Alexandria, Egypt, during the current year.

Donald Beatty and John Bowditch have been promoted to associate professors of history in the University of Minnesota. John B. Wolf of the same institution is in France on a Fulbright fellowship.

The department of history of the University of Missouri sends the following



announcement: Elmer Ellis, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, is lecturing in American history at the University of Amsterdam during the current year under the provisions of the Fulbright Act. Charles F. Mullett will be on leave of absence the second semester to do research in England. Walter V. Scholes is on leave of absence during the first semester to do research in Mexico. David H. Pinkney has been promoted to associate professor.

Ray W. Irwin has been promoted to associate professor of history in New York University.

Wallace E. Caldwell was appointed chairman of the department of history in the University of North Carolina as of April 1, 1951, following the resignation of A. R. Newsome (see RECENT DEATHS). James L. Godfrey of the same university has been awarded the President's Fellowship of Brown University for the current academic year. He is on leave of absence to do research in England on the Labor government. John Beeler and Lawrence Graves, instructors in history at the Woman's College, have been called to active duty as reserve officers in the United States Army.

Albert Norman has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history at Norwich University.

Gordon Wright, professor of history in the University of Oregon, is acting chairman of the department and will serve until a successor to Dan E. Clark, retired, can be named. Kenneth W. Porter is visiting professor of history in the University of Oregon during the current academic year.

Conyers Read has become emeritus professor of English history in the University of Pennsylvania. He will serve as special lecturer in the graduate school of the university for 1951-52. F. Hilary Conroy, formerly of the University of California, has been appointed assistant professor of Far Eastern history at the University of Pennsylvania.

Charles Sellers, formerly of the University of Maryland, has accepted an instructorship at Princeton University.

Henry David, associate professor of history in Queens College, has been granted leave of absence, at the request of General Eisenhower, to serve as executive secretary of the National Manpower Council recently established in the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University.

Edward Hake Phillips has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the Rice Institute.

The department of history and political science at Rutgers University has been divided into two separate departments. L. Ethan Ellis has been elected chairman of the new department of history. Also at Rutgers, Richard P. McCormick and Robert F. Byrnes have been promoted to associate professorships in history.

Benjamin Franklin Gilbert was appointed instructor in history in San Jose State College, California, in September, 1950.

James Miller Grimes has been promoted to professor of history at the University of the South (Sewanee).

William P. Hotchkiss has been appointed chairman of the department of history at Syracuse University. Murray G. Lawson, assistant professor of American and Canadian history in Syracuse University, has been granted leave of absence to accept a post with the State Department's Office of Intelligence Research.

At Temple University, Philadelphia, John S. Kramer has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of history and Lawrence O. Ealy to the rank of assistant professor.

R. John Rath, formerly of the University of Colorado, has accepted a professorship at the University of Texas.

D. G. Brinton Thompson, associate professor of history in Trinity College, Hartford, has been named Northam professor of history and political science and chairman of the department.

Mark Naidis has joined the staff of the *United States Quarterly Book Review* in the Library of Congress.

Evalyn A. Clark, professor of history in Vassar College, has been appointed associate dean of the college.

Winfred A. Harbison, professor of history in Wayne University, has been named chairman of the department. He succeeds Raymond C. Miller, who has asked to be relieved of administrative duties but will continue in his professorship.

In Western Reserve University, Arvel B. Erickson, Harvey Wish, and John Hall Stewart have been promoted to the rank of full professor of history.

Paul Samuel Smith, chairman of the department of history in Whittier College, has been chosen president of the college.

In the department of history in Yale University David M. Potter has been named William Robertson Coe professor of history and chairman of the department of American studies, Ralph E. Turner is chairman of the editorial committee of UNESCO's Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind, Sherman Kent is still on leave for service with the Central Intelligence Agency, and Archibald S. Foord has been promoted to an associate professorship. Dudley W. R. Bahlman, William R. Emerson, Kermit E. McKenzie, and Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr., have been appointed instructors.

Ernest G. Schwiebert, recently cultural adviser at Erlangen University, Germany, is now command historian of the Air Research and Development Command at Baltimore, Maryland.

#### RECENT DEATHS

Louis Knott Koontz, professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles, died August 7 at the age of sixty-one. Dr. Koontz's career was divided between service in educational institutions on both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. Wherever he was he made lasting friendships, and students and colleagues past and present held him in high esteem and will remember with gratitude his unselfish helpfulness. Dr. Koontz graduated at eighteen from Washington and Lee College and the next year, at nineteen, was a teacher and president of the little institution that later became Hood College. Alternating teaching and study, he took his master's degree at the Johns Hopkins University in 1914 and his doctor's degree in 1920. His teaching career included three years at Davis-Elkins, where he was also dean and for one year acting president. A year in editorial work on the *San Francisco Chronicle* (1921-22) preceded his first appointment at U.C.L.A. Here he rose through the various grades to a full professorship with responsibility for the work in his chosen field of colonial history. He taught in the summer sessions of many institutions in both East and West, traveled on research missions to Europe, and served on educational and historical projects in Washington and the Philippine Islands in World War I. He was for a time managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* and was the author of *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763* (1925) and *Robert Dinwiddie* (1941). He later took over the editing of the latter's correspondence and of the collected essays of his late colleague, Professor Parish. Wherever there was a task to be done Louis Koontz was one of the first names suggested, and he gave of his time cheerfully. Such generous and truly amiable spirits are all too rare.

Edward Maslin Hulme died at his home in Palo Alto, California, on July 10,

1951. He would have been eighty-three years of age had he lived until his birthday, September 17. Born in London and coming to America as a boy, he graduated from Stanford with the class of 1897. He carried on graduate work at Harvard University and at Cornell University and was for nineteen years a member of the faculty of the University of Idaho. Returning to Stanford as professor of medieval history in 1921, he remained there until he reached emeritus status in 1937. He taught in the summer sessions of universities in the East and the South as well as the West. Always an unusually inspiring teacher for the large classes in his subject, he also led a band of devoted and productive scholars, particularly in the field of the Renaissance. His first volume, published in 1914, was *Renaissance and Reformation*, followed in 1924 by *The British People* and the well-known text, *The Middle Ages*, first published in 1929. A traveler of keen insight, he published *Wintering in France* in 1941, and in 1942 he summarized the work of many years' thought and study in *History and Its Neighbors*. Occasionally the poet, always the artist, he was first of all the teacher of history to thousands of students. As one distinguished medievalist has written in proposing a fund for a purchase of books in his memory, he was "a great teacher."

David Duncan Wallace died in Spartanburg, South Carolina, on April 29, lacking less than a month of being seventy-seven years of age. A graduate of Wofford College and in 1899 the first person to be granted the Ph.D. degree in history by Vanderbilt University, he was professor of history and economics at Wofford for forty-eight years. For brief periods he was a visiting professor at the University of Michigan, Emory University, and the College of Charleston. He was an exceptionally able teacher of undergraduates, and many of his students continued their study of history in the graduate schools of American universities. Despite a heavy teaching schedule, which included at times courses in political science and sociology as well as history and economics, he was actively engaged in research and writing for many years. Especially noteworthy productions were his *Life of Henry Laurens* (1915) and his three-volume *History of South Carolina* (1934). His *History of Wofford College* was in press when he died.

Albert Ray Newsome, professor of American history and head of the history department of the University of North Carolina, died on August 5, 1951, at the age of fifty-seven, after a prolonged illness. Born at Marshville, North Carolina, in 1894, he was educated in the public schools and university of his native state. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1915 with highest honors, as president of the local chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. After teaching in the public schools of North Carolina and at Bessie Tift College in Georgia, and the University of North Carolina, he completed his work for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Michigan in 1929. His dissertation, *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina*, was published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1939.

He also published (in collaboration with Professor Hugh T. Lefler) *The Growth of North Carolina* (1940) and edited *The North Carolina Manuals* (1927, 1929), *The Preservation of Local Archives: A Guide for Public Officials* (1932) and *Social Science Maps* (1938). At the time of his death he had completed a large part of a volume on the history of North Carolina. Among his shorter research studies were numerous articles on archives and on the history of North Carolina, published in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, the *American Archivist*, the *Southern Magazine*, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, *Public Documents*, and *Illinois Libraries*. He edited the *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* (1939).

Much of Professor Newsome's contribution to the advancement of historical study was administrative. He was secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission (now the State Department of Archives and History) and also editor of the *North Carolina Historical Review*, from 1926 to 1935, at which time he became head of the history department of his alma mater. In 1938-39 he served as president of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina. He was a charter member and first president of the Society of American Archivists (1936-39) and took an active part in professional organizations such as the American Historical Association, the Southern Historical Association, and the Historical Society of North Carolina.

George F. Zook, director emeritus of the American Council on Education, died in Washington, August 17, at the age of sixty-six. Although most of his active life was spent in educational administration he was trained as a historian at the University of Kansas and Cornell University. After serving as a teaching assistant at Cornell, where he received his doctorate in 1913, he began his teaching career in Pennsylvania State College, where promotion came promptly. He came to Washington in 1917 to do research and writing for the Committee on Public Information. The rest of his career, except for eight years as president of the University of Akron, centered in Washington where he was Commissioner of Education before his sixteen years as director of the American Council on Education. Under him, and with the liberal support of the great foundations, the council became a nation-wide institution serving education at all levels and carrying on and publishing elaborate investigations of educational problems. Dr. Zook's character and tempered judgment gave him a place of leadership whenever educational problems were a matter of major concern by any government agency from the White House down. He served on the educational program in Germany and played an active part as a member of the United States delegation to UNESCO. He was in Paris at its June meetings when his last illness came. Through all these years he had kept his interest in history and his membership in the American Historical Association. When he accepted a place as consultant to the Library of Congress he planned to return to his studies of African slavery,

the subject of his doctoral dissertation. He lived to see his services to education recognized by honorary degrees and by the acclaim of the educational profession whose larger purposes he championed at home and abroad.

Clive Day, professor of economic history, emeritus, in Yale University, died July 27 at his summer home in Greensboro, Vermont, in his eighty-first year. Clive Day was as wholly a Yale man as one could well be. He was a descendant of Yale men, one of whom had been president of the university. From Yale he received his bachelor's degree in 1892 and his doctorate in 1899. He spent two of the intermediate years in study in Berlin and Paris and three as an instructor in economics in the University of California. In 1898 he returned to New Haven, there to spend the rest of his active life except for his service with the American peace delegation in 1918. His field of specialization was the history of commerce, and for his interest in Dutch history he was made a corresponding member of the Batavian Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was also a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Tall, spare, modest, retiring, yet friendly, he found his satisfaction as a teacher whose restrained and clear-cut presentation was based on mastery of his subject. His volumes on *Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (1904), *History of Commerce* (1907), *History of Commerce of the United States* (1925), and *Economic Development of Modern Europe* (1933) made his scholarship available beyond the Yale campus. He had been retired since 1936.

Arthur H. Clark, publisher and bibliophile, died in Glendale, California, May 15. His specialization in the printing and direct sale of original narratives of early American history gave his firm a very special place as a producer of source material and of substantive histories in the same area. He made profit on manuscripts that other publishers thought "too scholarly." He put his imprint on the seventy-three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations* and C. W. Alvord's *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, which was awarded the Loubat Prize. While at Cleveland, where he began business in 1902, he helped in founding the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and later in California the *Pacific Historical Review*.

Robert W. Seton-Watson died at his home on the Isle of Skye on July 25 at the age of seventy-two. For forty years he had devoted himself to the study of the history and politics of Balkan countries. He served the British government in intelligence work in the two world wars. He was author and editor of nearly thirty volumes in the field of his special interest. He taught in Kings College from 1915 to 1922 and from 1922 to 1945 was Masaryk Professor in the University of London. From 1922 to 1949 he was joint editor of the *Slavonic Review*. He was the deserving recipient of honors from institutions in many lands.



# THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884

Chartered by Congress in 1889

## *Principal Office*

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ANNEX, STUDY ROOM 274, Washington 25, D. C.

**MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER, 1950:** 5772. Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership.

**MEETINGS:** An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast.

**PUBLICATIONS:** In addition to the *Annual Report*, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

**PRIZES:** The *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship*, awarded annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of \$1,000 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

The *Watumull Prize* of \$500, awarded biennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (next award: December, 1951).

The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about \$200, awarded annually for a work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about \$100, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph on any subject relating to American history.

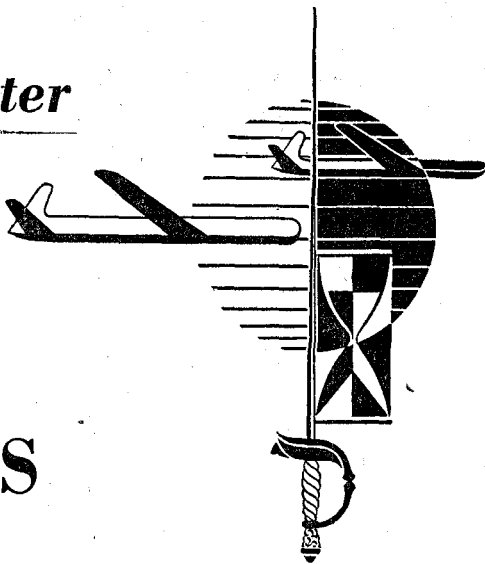
The *Herbert B. Adams Prize*, without stipend, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

**DUES:** There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$5.00. Life membership is \$100. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

**CORRESPONDENCE:** Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C.

**Consider for  
Second Semester**

**HEATH  
COLLEGE  
HISTORIES**



**ERGANG: Europe in Our Time—1914 to the Present**

This text emphasizes vital world trends and international events . . . draws special attention to the economic and political causes of the two great wars . . . renders an integrated account of the repercussions of European developments in the world at large.  
725 pp. \$5.75

**BRUUN: The World in the Twentieth Century**

A timely text to aid the student to appraise today's issues against a world background . . . Each nation studied in terms of its real and potential resources, its capacity for defense and expansion, and its search for social justice. 824 pp. \$5.75

**ERGANG: Europe: From the Renaissance to Waterloo**

A general narrative sufficiently detailed to give a broad and clear panorama of the age . . . readable, forceful style . . . materials carefully organized to clarify this difficult period for the student . . . well-balanced treatment of political, social, economic, and cultural phases. 855 pp. \$5.75

---

**D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY**

College Department — 285 Columbus Avenue, Boston 16, Massachusetts

---

# VAN NOSTRAND FOR COLLEGE TEXTS



JUST PUBLISHED . . .

## RUSSIA: PAST AND PRESENT

By ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

A scholarly, new history of Russia, wherein the material is arranged *topically* instead of in the usual, chronological sequence. This new approach resulted from the author's years of successful experience in teaching Russian history more effectively by the topical method. Detailed chronological list is provided at the end of the book. For upper division college students.

785 pp.—6 x 9—Cloth—Full Color Maps, Photographs, College Edition, \$6.75

## Widely Adopted . . . INTRODUCTION TO RUSSIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

By IVAR SPECTOR

In this text, sections on Russian literature and music run parallel to the formal history—and as much emphasis is placed on Dostoyevsky, who moulded the thought of the Russian people, as on Peter the Great, who laid the foundations for the Russian Empire and its expansion.

454 pp.—6¼ x 9¼—Cloth—Illustrated—Many Maps—College Edition, \$4.50

## THE UNITED STATES FROM COLONY TO WORLD POWER

BY OLIVER PERRY CHITWOOD,  
FRANK LAWRENCE OWSLEY, and H. C. NIXON

DESIGNED to satisfy the need for a single-volume textbook for short courses in American History. In essence, it is based on the larger work, A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, two volumes published in 1945 and 1948.

867 pp.—Cloth—Illustrated—6¼ x 9½—\$5.75

If You Teach or Direct These Courses,

EXAMINATION COPIES ARE AVAILABLE TO YOU.

WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE CONTINENTAL U. S. A.



D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC.

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1848

250 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

YALE

*An important notice concerning*  
**THE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA**

This famous series of fifty-six volumes has long been one of the most notable works in its field. Hitherto published only in subscription and textbook editions, the six volumes listed below are now available individually in a new bookstore edition at your local bookstore.

### Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt

*By Denis W. Brogan.* A chronicle of the New Deal and global war. "He moves through the years of the New Deal skillfully laying bare the essentials."—PROVIDENCE JOURNAL

### From Versailles to the New Deal

*By Harold U. Faulkner.* The Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era. "He makes clear the incompetence of the political, financial and moral leaders to cope with the problems of their time, but he is eminently fair to them."—N. Y. TIMES

### The United States in a Chaotic World The New Deal and World Affairs

*By Allan Nevins.* America's role in international affairs 1918-1933 and 1933-1945. "Masterly presentations of two distinct eras."—MIAMI HERALD

### The Struggle for Survival

*By Eliot Janeway.* Economic mobilization in World War II. The engrossing story of American production in the Second World War.

### War for the World

*By Fletcher Pratt.* Our fighting forces in World War II. "One of the most useful brief histories of the War."—SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE. 25 maps by Richard Edes Harrison

*All coming November 12. \$5.00 each*

*at your bookseller*

**YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS** • New Haven 7, Connecticut



Two new volumes in a monumental biography

# George Washington

By Douglas Southall Freeman

VOLUME III—PLANTER AND PATRIOT

VOLUME IV—LEADER OF THE REVOLUTION

Dr. Freeman captures brilliantly some of the most fascinating years of Washington's career from 1758 through the revolutionary war to the fateful point when France recognized our independence. "He is restoring to the nation a part of its rightful heritage that it somehow let slip away."—ALLAN NEVINS, *N.Y. Times*

Volumes III and IV Boxed \$15.00

Volumes I-IV Four volumes boxed together \$30.00

## Liberty and Property

by R. V. Coleman

America from 1664-1765—vividly recreated. 28 maps, 62 illustrations. "Readers should be warned that if they do not read this book now, they will have to in a few years, for as Coleman's series grows, each volume will become a literary event, and the whole set a major achievement."—*Philadelphia Inquirer* \$5.00

## Mr. Lincoln's Contemporaries

An Album of Portraits  
by Mathew B. Brady

With a descriptive text by Roy Meredith, author of *Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man*. "Those who would see the nineteenth century and see it plain can do no better than to look into this book. In it the past is not restored; it lingers."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review* \$6.00

## THE TWENTIETH CENTURY LIBRARY

Hiram Haydn,  
General Editor

Two new titles in a distinguished series of "lucid, perceptive, useful books."—ORVILLE PRESCOTT, *N. Y. Times*

## Sigmund Freud

His Exploration of the  
Mind of Man

by Gregory Zilboorg

## John Dewey

The Reconstruction of the  
Democratic Life

by Jerome Nathanson

Each volume \$2.00

at your bookseller

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

**NEW HARPER TEXTS** for fall classes

## **A SHORT HISTORY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY**

By L. NATHAN ELLIS, *Rutgers University*

This new *short* history of American diplomacy will be welcome to teachers of semester courses in American foreign relations. Compressing the long story of American diplomacy, it traces the main forces which have shaped American foreign policy and the chief avenues that policy has followed. Exceptionally interesting in both style and content, authoritative in scholarship, and unusual in its approach, which combines the chronological with the topical. Maps and bibliography.

604 pages \$5.00

## **THE EMERGENCE OF THE GREAT POWERS, 1685-1715**

By JOHN B. WOLF, *University of Minnesota*

One of the most crucial periods of European history is recreated in this latest volume in *The Rise of Modern Europe*. Professor Wolf has appraised the conflicts and politics of this age, showing the growth of vast military, administrative, and diplomatic organizations and the epochal scientific and cultural innovations that set the whole course of Western thinking on a new and broader foundation.

352 pages \$3.75 text edition

# **HARPER & BROTHERS**



49 East 33d Street, New York 16, New York



**A Standard Work On European  
Imperialism**  
*with emphasis on German foreign policy*

•

**George W. F. Hallgarten**  
**IMPERIALISMUS VOR 1914**

Die soziologischen Grundlagen  
der Aussenpolitik europäischer Grossmächte vor dem ersten Weltkrieg

2 Bände

Etwa 1100 Seiten. In Ganzleinen etwa DM 65.—

Complete scientific edition of a work by a German-American scholar, previously available only as manuscript or microfilm in seven leading American Libraries, now printed for the first time, with notes of 1950.

"Throughout, the writer reveals an intimate knowledge of diplomatic history of the more orthodox type and indeed an extraordinary erudition derived from wide study. . . . He is entitled to unstinting praise for having brought together an immense amount of valuable information (much of it obscure and difficult of access) and for having synthesized it in a convincing fashion. . . . Hallgarten's work is a contribution to recent German history of absolutely first rate importance which no student of either domestic or international history can afford to ignore."

Professor William L. Langer, Harvard University

Published by

**C. H. BECK'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG**

Munich (23), Germany, Wilhelmstrasse 9

*Place orders with your bookseller*

*Just Published*

## **THE COURSE OF EUROPE SINCE WATERLOO**

**THIRD EDITION**

By WALTER P. HALL and WILLIAM S. DAVIS. This popular text has been expanded to cover the events which have taken place since the publication of the previous revision. Among the topics covered are the breakdown of relations between the East and West and the subsequent "Cold War"; developments in the Near East; the nations behind the Iron Curtain and those in Western Europe; Korea, China and the Far East; and rearmament under the North Atlantic Pact. New maps have been added and bibliographical references have been brought up to date. As before, it offers a factual, accurate presentation in a readable, vigorous style.

*Coming in November*

## **WORLD WARS AND REVOLUTIONS**

**THIRD EDITION**

By WALTER P. HALL. For courses covering the Twentieth Century only, this book makes available in a separate volume the last fifteen chapters of Hall and Davis' *The Course of Europe Since Waterloo*. To this material is added an introductory chapter, "Antecedents of the First World War," which rapidly surveys the period from 1900 to 1914. This book discusses all the significant influences on the course of events—social, economic, political, religious, and military. Maps, photographs, and cartoons illustrate the text.

*Appleton-Century-Crafts, Inc.*

35 West 32nd Street, New York 1, N. Y.

"This is history at its best."

Henry F. Pringle  
*New York Herald Tribune*

## THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

*S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager*

4th edition

2 volumes

\$5.50@

"It is to the credit of the authors that they succeed throughout their spacious survey in telling their story not merely with authority but also with an enthusiasm no reader can fail to note."

*Saturday Review Syndicate*

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW YORK

# Renaissance to Reformation

A Critical Review of the Spiritual and  
Temporal Influences on Medieval Europe

by ALBERT HYMA

*Professor of History, University of Michigan*

### CONTENTS

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| I. Church and State in the Middle Ages           | XII. The Economic Theories of Martin Luther     |
| II. Economic and Social Development              | XIII. Luther's Political Ideas                  |
| III. Politics in the Age of the Renaissance      | XIV. Reformers Before the Reformation in France |
| IV. The "Devotio Moderna"                        | XV. The Career of John Calvin                   |
| V. The Humanists                                 | XVI. Calvin's Political Views                   |
| VII. Hegius, Agricola and Gansfort               | XVII. The Economic Ideas of John Calvin         |
| VII. The Youth of Erasmus                        | XVIII. Protestantism and the Rise of Capitalism |
| VIII. Erasmus in the Monastery                   | XIX. Communism in the Sixteenth Century         |
| IX. Erasmus and the Oxford Reformers (1493-1503) | XX. New Views on Divine Inspiration             |
| X. The Background of Lutheranism                 | XXI. The Reformation in England and Scotland    |
| XI. The Development of Luther's Theology         | XXII. The Reformation in Retrospect             |

22 Chapters, 591 Pages, Indexed—\$6.00

Also new: *The Brethren of the Common Life*, by A. Hyma, \$3.50

**WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING CO.**

255 Jefferson Avenue, S.E.,

Grand Rapids 3, Michigan

**A balanced account of  
American constitutional development**

# The American Constitution

*Its Origins and Development*

by **ALFRED H. KELLY and  
WINFRED A. HARBISON**  
*Wayne University*

**T**his distinguished book traces the development of American constitutionalism from its origins in England and the colonies to the present day. It covers not only the "traditional" epoch of constitutional history (1760-1786) but also constitutional development since 1885: the emergence of modern due process of law, the constitutional aspects of modern commerce power and taxation, the development of the modern executive and the great constitutional crisis of the New Deal. It has become one of the most widely used texts for courses in American constitutional development.

"The latest and most comprehensive of the recent explorations of the theory and practice of limited constitutional government . . . done with balance, with detachment and penetration."—*N. Y. Times Book Review*

"The merits which especially impress me are the smooth style of writing, the well-balanced organization and the clear analysis of the constitutional problems." —*LAWRENCE A. HARPER, University of California*

"... the only work on the subject which gives a *balanced* treatment of the *whole* of our constitutional history."—*JAMES HART, University of Virginia*

With texts of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, a table of cases, notes and selected bibliography.

Text Price, \$5.75

**"Books That Live"**

**W. W. NORTON & COMPANY**

101 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.



# **The Philippines and the United States**

By *GAREL GRUNDER & WILLIAM E. LIVEZEY*. It was in the Philippines that the United States was first confronted with the problems of a new colonial power. And it was here that the role we were to play in the international power politics of the Far East took form. This significant and factual study provides a key to understanding our highly controversial policy in the Far East today.

*Illustrated, maps, bibliography, index, \$4.00*

# **The Declaration of Independence**

**AND WHAT IT MEANS TODAY**

By *EDWARD DUMBAULD*. The first convenient source for detailed study of the Declaration—the various texts, what each passage means, why it was included, how it has been interpreted through the years.

*Illustrated, \$3.00*

# **The Front Is Everywhere**

**MILITANT COMMUNISM IN ACTION**

By *WILLIAM R. KINTNER, Lt. Col., U. S. Army*. A calm, scientific analysis of the world Communist organization and its plans for the revolutionary overthrow of all capitalist governments.

*Illustrated, \$3.75*

*At all bookstores*

**UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS**

*Norman, Oklahoma*

# JAMES PARTON:

*The Father of Modern Biography*

By MILTON E. FLOWER

\$4.50

Parton's first work, *Horace Greeley*, established a precedent, for it was the first biography, aside from campaign lives, of a living person. His second choice of subject, Aaron Burr, was likewise a departure from the convention that biography should deal only with inspirational heroes. *Horace Greeley* skyrocketed Parton to fame and each succeeding work—on Aaron Burr, Andrew Jackson, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Ben Butler, and Voltaire—made him more renowned.

His writings were popular and forceful, and their scholarly foundation, coupled with journalistic skill, earned for him a top position in both popular success and critical acclaim.

Parton's marriage to Fanny Fern (Sarah Willis Eldredge), was fraught with temperamental skirmishes. His second marriage, to one of Fanny's daughters, brought him happiness and eventual retirement in Newburyport, Massachusetts, where for the last decade of his life he contributed weekly columns to the *Youth's Companion* and the *Ledger*.



**DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Box 6697, College Station, Durham, N. C.

## THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Revised Edition

**RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW**

Volume I. The Establishment of the Nation through the Civil War

Volume II. The Expansion of the Nation, 1865-1950

In response to the great demand for an up-to-date revision, Professor Harlow has rewritten and expanded the material on World War II and brought the text down to the present fighting in Korea. This revision includes a full discussion of the origins, diplomacy, and conduct of the war, our international policies and commitments, and national events under President Truman's administration.

"... surpasses the fine standards set previously. I have been particularly pleased with its timeliness in discussing the issues now before us." EARL SPANGLER, *Macalester College*

Volume I—621 pages, \$4.75

Volume II—716 pages, \$5.25

**HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY** 257 Fourth Avenue, New York 10



## Nationalism and Internationalism

ESSAYS INSCRIBED TO CARLTON J. H. HAYES

EDITED BY EDWARD MEAD EARLE

Seventeen essays by friends, colleagues, and former students of Carlton J. H. Hayes (including Jacques Barzun, Charles W. Cole, Geroid Robinson and Edward Mead Earle) all reflecting to some degree his influence, particularly in the study of nationalism. "... [an] altogether admirable collection."—*American Historical Review* \$5.75

## The French Education of HENRY ADAMS

MAX ISAAC BAYM

Shows how and to what extent French literature and philosophy influenced Henry Adams' writing. Based largely on unpublished manuscripts, this book explores the roots of his erudition, cutting across such fields as history, philosophy, and *belles-lettres*, and revealing many unsuspected filiations of ideas. \$5.00

## Roman Civilization

VOLUME I: THE REPUBLIC

SELECTED READINGS EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY  
NAPHTALI LEWIS and MEYER REINHOLD

A broad survey of the political, legal, administrative, religious, economic, social, and cultural aspects of Roman civilization. Over 300 selections, covering 193 topics arranged, as far as possible, chronologically and covering the period from its beginning to 30 B.C. *Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies*, No. 45. November \$5.00

## German Agrarian Politics after Bismarck's Fall

FORMATION OF THE FARMERS' LEAGUE

SARAH REBECCA TIRRELL

Using a situation whose problems are still largely unsolved, the author describes the domestic crisis in agriculture and the parliamentary struggle over the commercial treaties that reduced agricultural protection, and points out the relation of the agrarian problems to world-wide competition for markets. *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, No. 566. \$4.50

## The French Franc between the Wars, 1919-1939

MARTIN WOLFE

During this period almost everything that could happen to a monetary unit happened to the French franc. The author traces the factors behind the violent changes in the purchasing power and exchange value of the franc. Provides an important key for understanding recent French history. *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, No. 569. \$3.25

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS • NEW YORK 27

Publishers of the revised and enlarged Columbia Encyclopedia



## **Ideas and Men: The Story of Western Thought**

By *Crane Brinton, Harvard University*

A distinguished book about Ideas, Attitudes and Trends—subordinating names and details to a profound and readable study of the cosmological and ethical questions examined in all Western literature, art, philosophy, theology, and natural science. This widely-read, modern treatment shows how history gives background and focus for concrete problems—points up the impossibilities of “perfect” solutions.

Published 1950

587 pages

5 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ "

## **Western America, 2nd Edition**

By *L. R. Hafen, University of Denver; and C. C. Rister, University of Oklahoma*

This history of trans-Mississippi expansion and consolidation spells out the central role of the West in the evolution of the American nation. The Second Edition further traces the cycle of early exploration and conquest to the modern emergence of Western America. Among the added features are two new chapters on urban growth and the oil industry of the West, a revision of key sections to embody further research data and significant material, and an improvement of the maps, charts, and illustrations.

Published 1950

716 pages

6" x 9"

## **America's Colonial Experiment**

**How the United States gained, governed,  
and in part gave away a colonial empire**

By *Julius Pratt, Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Science, University of Buffalo*

The only text today devoted exclusively to American overseas expansion, this useful study offers in great detail the motives and methods of our growth beyond the 3-mile limit, as well as the objectives and techniques used in governing these insular possessions.

Here, too, is valuable background material on economic and political conditions before and after we took over—public reaction within the United States—what was said in newspapers and Congressional debates—effects on the native populations.

There is also a timely account of those Pacific areas now under American jurisdiction.

Published 1950

460 pages

5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

*Send for your copies today!*

**PRENTICE-HALL, INC. 70 Fifth Avenue New York 11, N. Y.**

—m— *History at a Glance . . .*

---

# The PRESIDENCY

*by Stefan Lorant*

Over 1000 pictures illustrate this superb record of Presidential elections in the United States from George Washington to Harry S. Truman. Reproductions of portraits, engravings, cartoons, and documents help preserve the stirring picture of election drama—heroism, scandal, rugged conflict, and ballyhoo.

**Democracy in Action**—42 exciting chapters depict the rise and fall of Parties and the issues over which they fought. They show the opposing Presidential candidates throughout our history, how they won or lost, and how each of the victors was attacked during his administration. With its lively text and presentation of statistics, Mr. Lorant's book is a far cry from the usual textbook accounts of American politics. It is fascinating reading for every student of American history and government and a timely precursor to the coming campaign year.

published in part in  
*Look*

\$15.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

—m— *Tremendous is the word for*

# The Memoirs of HERBERT HOOVER 1874-1920

The first volume of Herbert Hoover's own life story covers the Years of Adventure from 1874 to 1920. Here is the appealing account of Mr. Hoover's boyhood in Iowa and Oregon, of the engineering triumphs that took him around the globe, of relief operations during and after World War I when he became Food Administrator for the United States—of the great historical events in which he took part and the famous people he knew.

On the intimate plane of Mr. Hoover's personality and life, and on the broader plane of world figures and world issues, this is "must" reading for every history-minded individual. A large book, largely informed and largely motivated, by a man whose contribution to history and humanity is secure.

published in part  
in *Colliers*

\$4.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

**-m** *History, past and present . . .*

## THE JEFFERSONIANS

by Leonard D. White

The brilliant author of *The Federalists* continues his studies of administrative history. Here he scrutinizes events from 1801 to 1829, showing how our infant government converted a paper constitution into a living reality. He delves into the story of the Presidency, the Treasury, the Army and Navy, the Post Office, and many other areas and shows the vital connection between the problems of the Jeffersonians and those of today. With its incorporation of original sources and lively, winning anecdotes, this book is equally valuable for study or for browsing.

\$6.00

## HITLER'S INTERPRETER

by Paul Schmidt

This intriguing book goes behind closed doors into the fateful conferences of Nazi Germany. As Hitler's interpreter for ten dramatic years from 1935 to 1945, Paul Schmidt saw history in the making. He sat in on Chamberlain's tragic failure at Munich, talks with Mussolini and Matsuoko, and was often the only witness to meetings of world-shaking importance. So great was his reputation that men like Churchill, Molotov, and Sumner Welles trusted him for summaries of what had been said. Knowingly and with amazing detail, Dr. Schmidt confirms many speculations of journalists and reveals hitherto unknown incidents.

\$4.00

published in part in *The New York Times*  
as "Behind the Brown Curtain"

# THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

.....

**TWO  
ADAMSES  
OF BOSTON  
AND  
ONE  
17th-CENTURY  
FRENCH  
COURTIER-  
  
THREE  
WELL-  
WRITTEN  
ACCOUNTS  
OF  
LIFE  
AND  
THOUGHT**

.....

## **Brooks Adams: Constructive Conservative**

By *Thornton Anderson, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland*

- Brooks Adams, author and historian, is an American figure in whom educated interest has not died down. This is an intellectual biography of the life and writings of the man who developed the theory that civilization flourishes and decays according to the growth and decline of commerce, and who wrote *America's Economic Supremacy*, *The New Empire*, and other important studies.

*Ready in December, \$3.75 (tentative)*

## **Runaway Star: An Appreciation of Henry Adams**

By *Robert A. Hume, Associate Professor of English, University of Nevada*

- Well rounded, mature appreciation of the famous historian, writer, and thinker. This thoughtful book relates Adams to his own time and to times before and after, regards him from the point of view of the artist, and answers the question: what was Henry Adams and what was the temper of his days? \$3.75

## **The Life and Adventures of La Rochefoucauld**

By *Morris Bishop, Professor of Romance Literature, Cornell University*

- The only full length biography of one of the leading figures in French court life during the seventeenth century. Here is the life of an amazing man—attempting to abduct Queen Anne of Austria, fighting for the honor of his caste, serving the Great Condé's treasons for love of the Great Condé's sister. An authentic account for scholars—fascinating reading for everyone. \$3.75

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

• Ithaca, New York



<i>Thorner</i> , INVESTMENT IN EMPIRE, by Leland H. Jenks . . . . .	132
<i>Woodham-Smith</i> , FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, by Donald Fleming . . . . .	134
<i>Harrod</i> , THE LIFE OF JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, by Jeannette P. Nichols . . . . .	136
<i>Dubos</i> , LOUIS PASTEUR, FREE LANCE OF SCIENCE, by Morris C. Leikind . . . . .	140
DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914), 2 <sup>e</sup> Série, XI, by Sidney B. Fay . . . . .	141
<i>Quazza</i> , STORIA POLITICA D'ITALIA, by A. William Salomone . . . . .	143
<i>Jemolo</i> , CHIESA E STATO IN ITALIA NEGLI ULTIMI CENTO ANNI; <i>Jacini</i> , STORIA DEL PARTITO POPOLARE ITALIANO, by H. Stuart Hughes . . . . .	145
<i>Guariglia</i> , RICORDI, 1922-1946, by Charles F. Delzell . . . . .	147
<i>Welch</i> , PORTUGUESE RULE AND SPANISH CROWN IN SOUTH AFRICA, by Manoel Cardozo . . . . .	149
<i>Zeeden</i> , MARTIN LUTHER UND DIE REFORMATION IM URTEIL DES DEUTSCHEN LUTHERTUMS, by Roland H. Bainton . . . . .	150
<i>Srbik</i> , GEIST UND GESCHICHTE VOM DEUTSCHEN HUMANISMUS BIS ZUR GEGENWART, by Friedrich Engel-Janosi . . . . .	151
<i>Lemberg</i> , GESCHICHTE DES NATIONALISMUS IN EUROPA; <i>Wittram</i> , NATIONALISMUS UND SÄKULARISATION, by Hans Kohn . . . . .	153
<i>Braubach</i> , GESCHICHTE UND ABENTEUER: GESTALTEN UM DEN PRINZEN EUGEN, by Paul R. Sweet . . . . .	156
<i>Schramm</i> , DEUTSCHLAND UND ÜBERSEE, by Harry R. Rudin . . . . .	157
<i>Klopp</i> , ONNO KLOPP, by Hans Kohn . . . . .	158
<i>Zucker</i> , THE FORTY-EIGHTERS, by John A. Hawgood . . . . .	160
<i>Degras</i> , SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY, I, by Jesse D. Clarkson . . . . .	162
<i>Gurian</i> , THE SOVIET UNION, by Ronald Thompson . . . . .	163

## Far Eastern History

<i>Briggs</i> , THE ANCIENT KHMER EMPIRE, by Robert I. Crane . . . . .	164
<i>Sinha</i> , FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE, AND OTHER CON-TEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO, V, by Holden Furber . . . . .	165
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1934, III: THE FAR EAST, by John J. Nolde . . . . .	167
<i>Reischauer</i> , THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, by Claude A. Buss . . . . .	169

## American History

<i>Philbrick</i> , THE LAWS OF ILLINOIS TERRITORY, 1809-18, by Merrill Jensen . . . . .	171
<i>Wylls</i> , ARIZONA, by John Walton Caughey . . . . .	172
<i>Hogan and Davis</i> , WILLIAM JOHNSON'S NATCHEZ, by John Hope Franklin . . . . .	173
<i>Parks</i> , JOHN BELL OF TENNESSEE, by Philip M. Hamer . . . . .	174
<i>Cotton</i> , MR. LINCOLN'S ARMY, by George Fort Milton . . . . .	175
<i>Hunt</i> , THE ARMY OF THE PACIFIC, by John Haskell Kemble . . . . .	177
<i>Woodward</i> , REUNION AND REACTION, by Jeter A. Isely . . . . .	178
<i>Fleming</i> , JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER AND THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE, by Richard H. Shryock . . . . .	179
<i>Hinshaw</i> , RUFUS JONES, MASTER QUAKER, by Helen Taft Manning . . . . .	181
<i>Hume</i> , RUNAWAY STAR: AN APPRECIATION OF HENRY ADAMS, by Harold Dean Cater . . . . .	183
<i>Morison, et al.</i> , THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT, I, II, by Howard K. Beale . . . . .	184
<i>Bolles</i> , TYRANT FROM ILLINOIS, by J. L. Sellers . . . . .	188
<i>Saloutos and Hicks</i> , AGRICULTURAL DISCONTENT IN THE MIDDLE WEST, by George M. Stephenson . . . . .	189
<i>Mayer</i> , THE POLITICAL CAREER OF FLOYD B. OLSON, by Nat S. Finney . . . . .	190
<i>Peffer</i> , THE CLOSING OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, by Paul W. Gates . . . . .	192
<i>Record</i> , THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, by Walter White . . . . .	193
<i>Smith and Marchant</i> , BRAZIL, by Manoel Cardozo . . . . .	194

## Other Recent Publications

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES . . . . .	197
------------------------------------	-----

This journal is unable as a rule to review textbooks and works of current discussion.

THE WILLIAM BYRD PRESS, INC.  
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

**Macmillan** presents ~  
*books with a future*

**The Rise of  
MODERN AMERICA  
1865-1951**

• **Arthur M. Schlesinger** •

This new fourth edition of **POLITICAL AND SOCIAL GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE** is thoroughly revised and contains four additional chapters: America in World War II, Postwar Problems at Home, World Leadership, and The Korean Crisis. It is reset and contains new maps and illustrations. There is, throughout, great emphasis on America's interrelations with other countries and cultures. *Ready in November.*

**Political and Social  
Growth of the  
AMERICAN PEOPLE  
1492-1865 • 3rd ed.**

• **Homer C. Hockett** •

Reprinted with emendations and a revised bibliography, this important work now includes the Constitution of the United States. The book has long been noted for its completeness of treatment, accuracy of statement, and excellent synthesis of all the various currents of history. \$5.25

**THE MACMILLAN CO. N.Y.**